

Two Celtic Waves in Spain

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THE SIR JOHN RHÛS MEMORIAL LECTURE TWO CELTIC WAVES IN SPAIN

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INTRODUCTION

RESearch in Spanish archaeology, during the last ten years, has shown that the Celts were an important factor in the evolution of pre-Roman cultures. This Celtic element can be distinguished from the Iberian, and can be linked, through France, with the culture transitional from the Bronze to the Iron Age in south-western Germany, and with the Hallstatt culture in the Rhineland.

The Celts, mentioned by ancient writers as inhabiting Spain, and attested there by Celtic place-names and Celtic cults, are now better known archaeologically. They may represent a more important element in Spanish ethnology than has been supposed. Although the Romans imposed an appearance of unity on the Spanish Peninsula, the native peoples remained quite unchanged. On them the Celts had probably impressed their own character over vast regions where the pre-Celtic indigenous population possessed no strong personality, or had interbred and formed peoples of mixed characteristics. The central districts of Spain, and especially the provinces of Old Castile and León, owed to the Celts the principal impulse towards the formation of their peoples. In Portugal, too, and in Galicia, there remained a vast number of Celts: the very name of Galicia ('Gallaecia', as Saint Isidore calls it) shows them distinctly surviving into later historic times. Elsewhere, in northern Spain, in the Basque country, in Aragon, and in Catalonia, Celtic penetration, and temporary Celtic leadership, did not succeed in absorbing the pre-Celtic peoples, or in transforming their ancestral characters.

It seems now to be proved that Celts began to come to Spain as early as about 900 B.C., although historical evidence of their existence in the Peninsula begins only in the sixth century. They may have come in different waves. The first of these, which is demonstrated archaeologically,

is connected with south Germany, and reached Spain about 900 B.C. The second wave, caused by Teutonic pressure, brought to Spain several varieties of culture from the middle and lower Rhine, and also some Teutonic elements. The latest groups of Celts probably belonged to the Belgic family. The second wave arrived in different stages which may have begun in the seventh century, and it culminated not much later than 600 B.C. In Herodotus' time it was well known that Celts were inhabiting the extreme west of the *oikoumene*, and when the Massiliot sailor, whose *Periplus* is the basis of the *Ora Maritima* of Avienus, visited Spain not later than 650 B.C., some Celtic tribes, such as the Cempsî, Sefes, and Berybraces (p. 70), were already established in their historical homes.

Historical records and archaeological finds point to an attempted Celtic conquest of the whole Peninsula, which failed to become a second Gaul only through the resistance of the Tartessian peoples of Andalusia and of the Iberians of the Valencian coast. But from 900 B.C. to the Roman occupation of north-western Spain, Celts were a most active element of Spanish evolution and, even later, they continued to influence Roman provincial culture.

I. THE URNFIELD CULTURES AND THE FIRST CELTIC WAVE OF MIGRATION

1. LATE BRONZE AGE CULTURES IN CENTRAL EUROPE

In the first part of the Fourth Bronze Age period, various indigenous cultures existed in Central Europe. These may be taken as a point of departure for the discussion of Celtic origins, and also of the date for the beginning of the movements of the Celts to the west. In south Germany, in Hesse, and in the Rhineland, the 'barrow culture' (*Hügelgräberkultur*) was flourishing. Its pottery was characterized by carved decoration (*Kerbschnitt*; cf. Pl. III. e, IV f, g). It had many connexions with eastern France in the Third Bronze Age, in the barrows of Lorraine, Franche-Comté,

Burgundy, and Aube (Courtavant); in the Fourth the connexion extended to Lozère.¹

The Danubian region, Bohemia, Thuringia, Saxony, Brunswick, Brandenburg, and eastern Germany were provinces of the Lausitz culture, with 'urnfields' and pottery decorated with bosses (*Büchelkeramik*) and grooved geometric ornaments (*Riefelkeramik*; cf. Pl. I *b*, II *b*). The Alpine lands were under the influence of the Lausitz urnfields of Austria in the east: in their western districts the 'lake-dwelling' culture was related to the so-called 'Rhône-Valais' culture of the upper Rhône valley and neighbouring parts of France.

On the outskirts of the 'barrow-culture', on the lower Rhine, in Holland, in the Westphalian plain, and eastward to Hanover and the Elbe, the territories of Nordic Teutonic culture begin. Here were less typical cultures representing the remnants of a poor and scanty population, descendants of Late Stone Age groups mixed with sporadic Nordic elements which may have spread to the boundary of the 'barrow-culture' in Hesse.

2. URNFIELD CULTURE IN GERMANY

During the Fourth Bronze Age period, 1200–1000 B.C., and possibly as distant repercussions of a movement of peoples originating on the Ukrainian plain and the lower Danube, new peoples from the Danube penetrated into the eastern Alps, bringing with them the 'urnfield' culture, with cylinder-neck urns, string- and groove-decoration (*Schnur- and Riefelkeramik*), Peschiera fibulae, and certain types of swords and of pins, e.g. poppy-head pins (*Mohnkopfnadeln*). On the Danube, as well as in Germany, this Lausitz culture may be considered as the beginning of the Hallstatt series (*Hallstatt A 1*), soon to spread as *Hallstatt A 2* through wide regions of Germany—the Rhineland, Westphalia, and Hesse.²

It has been observed by Kraft (p. 109) that, in the Alb and other districts of south Germany, the new-comers did not

completely obliterate the old barrow-folk (*Hügelgräber* with *Kerbschnitt*) who continued to exist through both periods of the 'first urnfield culture' (Bronze Age D and E). The two peoples intermingled, and in the next period, the period of the bronze Hallstatt swords (*Hallstatt B*:=*ältere Hallstattzeit*; 1000–900 B.C.), culture flourishes in south Germany,³ and the technique and patterns of the old barrow-culture survive in the dull-white pottery of the Alb, with encrusted decoration and small stamped circles.

During these periods the 'urnfield' invaders seem to have been absorbed by the old bronze-age population, which was more or less transformed by the influence of the newcomers; and in the next period (*Halstatt C*) the Salem culture culminated in a south German renaissance with its iron sword, polychrome pottery, and *Kerbschnitt* decorative technique.

3. EXTENSION OF URNFIELD CULTURE TO THE WEST

Urnfield culture soon spread westward, in this latest phase of its first period (*Hallstatt A 2*); and then began its expansion into the upper Rhine valley, Baden, Alsace, and Hagenau forest.

(a) *Switzerland and the Upper Rhône*. An important extension penetrated the territory of the old Rhône-Valais culture of the Bronze Age; it spread from Baden to the Swiss plain and the Western Alps.⁴ Emerging on the other side through the Belfort gap, it reached the upper Rhône valley, and the departments of Doubs, Jura, and Ain.⁵ From the upper Rhône there were apparently three distinct expansions (*b*, *c*, *d*).

(b) *Central France*. The first of these was north-westward as far as dep. Allier and Nièvre.⁶ There is some possibility that the influence of urnfield pottery spread farther north and west, but the finds are too scarce and ill-published for us to appreciate its character, and whether there was mere influence, or intrusion of peoples; it is also doubtful whether this is true urnfield pottery, or similar but later ware.⁷

(c) *South-western France*. Another offshoot went south-west by way of Lyon–Saint Étienne–Le Puy–Rodez–Albi or in company with (b) through the Allier valley by Clermont-Ferrand and Saint-Flour to Rodez and Albi. This culture appears in dep. Tarn and Haute-Garonne,⁸ and continues through the Val d'Aran to the West-Catalan Pyrenees.⁹ Another derivative of the same movement reached dep. Ariège and thence perhaps the Catalan Cerdagne.¹⁰

(d) *Lower Rhône and the coast*. A third expansion appears in the lower Rhône valley (dep. Vaucluse and Gard), reaches the coast of dep. Aude,¹¹ and thence passes into Catalonia through the Perthus and other passes of the Albères.

(e) *Chronology*. These extensions may have already begun during the last part of the first urnfield period (*Hallstatt A 2*), as the evolved cylinder-neck urn was still in use. This type belongs to the same phase as the transitional *Hallstatt B* types related to Gündling; for the pear-shaped vases (*Birnenurnen*) were already formed; also the decoration, reduced generally to the simplest grooved patterns, does not come from the very earliest German urnfields. In many places the forms are more or less equivalent to *Hallstatt B*. Probably they did not reach Catalonia before 900, and perhaps some time after the initial date of *Hallstatt D*. Meanwhile, all these extensions represent a very pure 'urn-field' culture unmixed with the indigenous Rhône culture. Thus direct affiliation to south Germany can be established, and may be attributed to the emigration of a few south German groups.

(f) *Distribution and significance of macander ornament* (cf. Pl. I f, g, h). An interesting problem is the macander-decoration of the urns of Switzerland, Savoy, Aude, and also of Catalonia, though not of the interior of France. In Germany, macanders appear very rarely and can be cited only at Buchau in Württemberg and in the Gündling group. The chief domain of macander-ornament is in the Villanova culture of north Italy, and here perhaps the origin of 'urn-field' macanders is to be sought. Their propagation was

aided by the very old connexion between the Alpine districts of Switzerland and France, and the Po valley. But in the urnfields of southern France, the maeander is a secondary element, as it is in Germany, and cannot be decisive for the origin of the urnfield people. What may be conclusive for this, is the identity of the earliest finds in the Rhône valley, and in Catalonia, with those in south Germany. Moreover, the spread of urnfield culture probably began before the introduction of maeander-ornament; for in Catalonia the most ancient urnfield pottery does not use it.¹²

Thus there may have been two independent expansions of urnfield culture from south Germany; one to the Doubs, Rhône, and dep. Gard; and another to Switzerland and Savoy. After the Savoy group had adopted maeander-decoration from the Villanovans of northern Italy, maeanders spread thence northwards into Switzerland and south Germany. They also reached the more advanced Hallstatt groups in eastern France, and were transmitted as a secondary element to the lower Rhône, Narbonne, and Catalonia.

4. URNFIELD CULTURE IN CATALONIA

(a) *Main extension in eastern and southern Catalonia.* Urnfield culture spread through Catalonia southward, as we have seen (p. 11), chiefly through the passes of the Albères. The most ancient types form compact groups, in the northern districts only. Pure urnfield culture, unmixed with indigenous elements, is found only in eastern Catalonia:¹³ the earliest finds are along the routes from the Albères passes,¹⁴ and extend to the neighbourhood of Tarragona, as far as the mountains near the Ebro,¹⁵ and in another direction, probably dependent on the groups in Catalonia, in the Segarra and lower Segre valley.¹⁶

The character of this east Catalonian culture points to an immigration of numerous peoples, who preserved the original features of their pottery. After its establishment in Catalonia, it developed in the same fashion during the

Hallstatt period with the same spontaneous trend towards identical types, as in other independent urnfield-groups, as far away as Germany; for here also this culture remained pure, and did not grow into a genuine Hallstatt culture. Unfortunately other finds, especially bronzes, are very scarce, and not typical. In the Olot district, however, where urnfield culture persisted, incised armlets and fibulae at the end of the series at El Molar, and an antenna-dagger of iron from Gibrella, are of types parallel with the latest phases of urnfield development in other countries.

(b) *Penetration into the mountains of NW. Catalonia, and fusion with the indigenous 'Marlès' culture.* On the borders of the districts with pure urnfield culture, and especially in the caves in the mountains, urnfield pottery penetrated into the indigenous culture of the Catalonian iron age—the so-called Marlès culture, a late development from ancient neo-neolithic times (Pl. II *a, b, d*). This mixed culture appears in the caves of the Montserrat, and of Janet near Tivissa by the Ebro, and in the mountains of north-western and central Catalonia, where the Marlès culture had its centres.¹⁷ Urnfield influences reached these mountains,¹⁸ and from the passes of the Pyrenees reached also the Cerdagne.¹⁹

(c) *Periods and chronology.* The prosperous Period I of Catalan urnfield culture is contemporary with *Hallstatt B* and *C*, and can be dated from 900 to 650 B.C. The initial date is given by the fact that typical cylinder-neck urns do not occur, and the form-series begins with equivalents of the later urnfield culture (*Hallstatt B*) in Germany. For the decay of the Catalan Period II, as represented in the cemeteries of Anglès (Pl. II *m*) and Plà de Gibrella in Capsech, an average terminal date is 650 B.C. The latter cemetery, with antenna-daggers of the close of *Hallstatt D*, is dated to the First Iron Age; Anglès belongs to the Transition; so the two together cover the whole of the final Hallstatt period.

This Catalan Period I may be divided into two stages—

Period I a is found only near the east coast, and rarely also in the Pyrenees.²⁰ Its leading vase-form is developed from the cylinder-neck urn. The earliest examples have simple decoration, with maeanders.²¹ The advanced phase represents the climax of Catalan urnfield culture.²²

In *Period I b*²³ the pot-forms become more globular, both those derived from the cylinder-neck urn, and those with broad mouth. Maeanders persist on the coast, at Terrassa and Sabadell, but did not reach the interior, where there are only simple triangles and parallel lines. To this second stage belong the vases showing urnfield influence on the native Marlès culture.

(d) *Penetration into eastern Aragon.* From western districts of Catalonia, such as the lower Segre valley, and the hills along the Ebro,²⁴ urnfield culture spread over the neighbouring districts of Aragon, and blended with an Iberian culture, indigenous and archaic. North of the Ebro there was a flourishing centre in the lower Cinca valley.²⁵ In lower Aragon, near the Catalan border, very pure urnfield pot-forms penetrated into the settlements of Las Escodinas Baixas in Mazaleón (Pl. II j, k).

(e) *Retreat in Catalonia: the Perelada cemetery.* In Period II b, after 650 B.C., urnfield culture survives only in its border districts. This is evident at El Molar, where development continues till 500 B.C. or later, still in the pure older traditions. In northern Catalonia, as has been said, this period is represented by the successive cemeteries of Anglès, west of Gerona, and of Plà de Gibrella in Capsech near Olot: in the latter are antenna-daggers of iron. This shrinkage of territory may point to a retreat of the urnfield people, after the Iberians of southern Catalonia had succeeded in reconquering the north, and penetrating into south-eastern France, where they dominated the country for some centuries.

The only relic of urnfield culture is the cemetery of Perelada in the north Catalanian plain of the Empordà: it may belong to a Celtic group surviving for some while

as a distinct element among the dominant Iberians. Here urns of simple and decadent character are associated with post-Hallstatt swords and Certosa fibulae, which can be dated about 500 B.C. or later.

(f) *Later survivals and absorption of invaders into indigenous population.* The survival of scattered urnfield pot-forms may be traced as late as the third century B.C. in the Iberian culture of Urgell,²⁶ as well as in the maritime culture related to it.²⁷ Urnfield pot-forms persist, too, during the evolution of the highland culture in the Solsona district.²⁸ Such survivals indicate the influence of urnfield tradition on the natives of Catalonia, as well as the absorption of foreign ethnical elements.

(g) *Celtic place-names in Catalonia.* The ethnology of the urnfield occupation of large parts of Catalonia is given by vestiges of Celtic language, which must be connected with that culture, and especially by Celtic place-names.

Some of these point to a military domination; for example the place-names in *-dunum*: Salardù (*Salardunum*), Besalù (*Beseldunum*), Verdù (*Virodunum*). Since *-dunum* means an 'enclosure' and probably a 'fortified enclosure', such names represent the *Ringwälle* of the original land of the Celts, and the fortified camps or 'hill-forts' of Britain. In Catalonia, their geographical positions were appropriate to such fortresses: Salardù, at the passes of the Vall d'Aràn; Besalù, a dominant hill on the boundary of the Olot district, where the Gibrella cemetery shows that urnfield people maintained themselves, guarding an important junction of roads to the Empordà plain and to Gerona; Verdù also is a prominent hill in the Segarra district, where urnfield culture is proved by the settlement of Guissona.

Place-names in *-acum*, meaning 'agricultural settlements', are distributed all over Catalonia: Masarac, Reixac, Vulpellac, Estrac, Llorac, Breissac. There is, however, some uncertainty about their antiquity, because in France such names were still being formed in the Middle Ages. But, even if the date of each is disputable, such a mass of *-acum*

names in a territory where other Celtic remains are certain illustrates the persistence of a Celtic tradition, and probably the colonizing habit of those who introduced them.

Other philological indications are names related to *Cugutiacum-cucullae*, such as Cogolls, Cogòs, Cogul or Cogull, La Cogullada; possibly, too, the tribe name of the *Bergistani* or *Bergusii* and their capital Berga (*Bergidum*), as well as similar place-names Balaguer, Bergús, Vergós (*Bergusia*). *Perafita*, meaning 'land-mark', is a place-name on the boundary of the *Bergusii* and *Ausetani*, and this name recurs many times in Spain, delimiting Celtic tribes, and is related to other names with similar significance in Spain and in Gaul. It has been supposed that the *Gessorienses* near Gerona, mentioned by Pliny (iii. 3), may be another remnant of Celtic occupation.

(h) *Other Celtic elements*. It may be that the Celts neither arrived in great numbers nor succeeded, with the possible exception of the *Bargusii* and *Gessorienses*, in remaining a distinct element of the Catalan population, as did some tribes of the Second Celtic Wave in other regions of Spain. Probably after a period of domination they mixed with the indigenous population, and were absorbed by it. Their influence, however, on the culture of the natives, who had been in the primitive aeneolithic cave-culture, must have been important. Probably the population was not very dense, and the Celts brought a superior civilization. Perhaps they introduced a more advanced agriculture, for in their original homes the urnfield peoples were a farming folk: the widespread *-acum* names are evidence of this. They may further have arrived not only as warriors, but as real settlers, with women, cattle, and all their gear.

Probably they introduced a new breed of oxen. This may be presumed from the existence, in historical times, of the so-called *raça bovina marinera* ('maritime breed'), which survives to this day in the districts of Gerona and La Selva. This *marinera* breed is analogous to the cattle of other Celticized lands—France, Germany, and Britain—and

differs from the indigenous *raça catalana*. Bones of the latter are found as early as neo-neolithic times; remains of the *marinera* breed appear soon after the Celtic occupation, in the Greek strata of Emporion; so it may be inferred that it had reached Catalonia in the preceding period; that is, during the Celtic occupation.

(i) *No alternative to the urnfield movement, for a Celtic invasion of Catalonia.* It is difficult to suppose that any other Celtic invaders could reach Catalonia after the urnfield period. From the sixth century B.C., south-eastern France became a stronghold of Iberian culture spreading outwards from Spain. The Gallic *Volcae-Tectosages* reached the Roussillon only in the second La Tène period, in the third century B.C., and did not pass beyond the Pyrenees. In Catalonia, this period is fairly well known, and its culture is an indigenous development which was absorbed by the urnfield people. Its only Celtic elements are the survivals of urnfield pottery, and stray fibulae and swords of La Tène types. These, moreover, may have been introduced (as in other Celtic and Iberian districts of Spain) through commercial intercourse with southern France, and did not alter the indigenous character of the culture.

5. ETHNOLOGY OF THE URNFIELD CULTURE

(a) *South-German origin of the urnfields of Catalonia and southern France.* Since it is not possible to recognize any other invasion from beyond the Pyrenees, after the urnfield movement, it is evident that if there were Celts in pre-Roman Catalonia—and this is proved by Celtic place-names—the identification of Celts and urnfield people is indisputable. It is an important consequence of this inference, that it proves the predominantly Celtic character of the original urnfield people. For the identity of the Catalan urnfield culture, not only with that of southern France, but with that of southern Germany, is evident, and the development in both these two distinct regions was on the same internal lines, and led to parallel results. Consequently we may

admit that the peoples of both branches of urnfield culture were of the same character, even if the Celts, before arriving in Catalonia, had absorbed other peoples of the territories which they had dominated or traversed; and their culture having taken shape before they set out from south Germany, the cradle of this First Celtic Wave must be presumed to have been there.

(b) *Pre-Celtic character of the Rhône-Valais culture.* This culture is the pre-Celtic culture of the Bronze Age, and represents the pre-Celtic population of these districts, which was overrun and effaced by the urnfield invasion. Where it was not destroyed, it survived in the Ligurian tribes of southern France, and in the remnants of pre-Celtic peoples mentioned in historical sources. Such remnants are best known from the *Periplus* (p. 8), and in the *Lemenici*, *Daliterni*, *Tulangii*, and *Clahilci* of the upper Rhône valley, around the Lake of Geneva.

(c) *Changes in south-eastern France.* These tribes may have formed a group related to the Ligurians of southern France and northern Italy, into which the Celtic elements were eventually absorbed; the Celtic domination having been broken, as in southern France and in Catalonia, after the first centuries of immigration. In the Narbonne district the *Periplus* knows *Elysices*, mentioned also as Ligurians by Hecataeus (FGrH 53); and later Gregory of Tours notes in their territory the town *Liguria* (Livière), as Navarro has pointed out (1934, p. 277). Celtic domination may be inferred from the *Periplus* itself, which says that Narbo (Narbonne) was formerly the capital of a strong kingdom, *maxime ferocis regni caput*. As the *Periplus* is speaking of the past, this kingdom must belong not to the contemporary Elysices, as Navarro would interpret it, but to the Celts of the urnfield culture. Again, in the upper Rhône valley, the *Periplus* mentions Celts, when it describes the country as *arva gallici soli* (v. 638).

That the Celts had only one opportunity of reaching Catalonia, namely the urnfield invasion out of Germany,

shows that the cradle of the Celts themselves was in south Germany, and may determine the Celtic character of the entire urnfield people. On this we may insist, in accordance with our former interpretation, and contrary to the opinion of Professor Kraft. For while he admits the Celtic ethnology of the Catalan urnfield, he thinks that the 'Illyrian' urnfield-folk were 'celticized' in crossing the territory of the Rhône-Valais culture.

Navarro has rightly insisted that the Rhône-Valais and West Alpine cultures cover the area of Ligurian place-names. According to ancient sources the southern districts of the Rhône valley belonged to the Ligurians. According to D'Arbois de Jubainville, Thurneysen, Pedersen, and Conway, these people spoke an indo-european language containing other linguistic elements, derived from the indigenous substratum of the region, the real Ligurians. The organization of the language may have been effected in the French districts through the Celtic urnfield-folk, just as in Italy it may have come from neighbouring Italic peoples, and perhaps also by urnfield penetration from French Savoy through the Val d'Aosta. Hubert²⁹ finds in Liguria Celtic *stelae* of the Hallstatt period, and on one of these is the word *Mezunemusus* (Medionemusus). The relations of the French 'maeander-group' of urnfields in Savoy with the Villanova culture of northern Italy (p. 11, above) is the archaeological proof of an old connexion which extended to the Ligurian Alps and penetrated among urnfield Celts. Thus the non-indo-european substratum in the Rhône valley and in the Western Alps may correspond with the Rhône-Valais culture of the Bronze Age.

(d) *The South German cradle of the urnfield Celts: Hügelgräber, Illyrians, and urnfield people.* According to Navarro, the cradle of the Celts is more properly to be sought in Germany. This is confirmed by the Druidic tradition in Ammianus Marcellinus (xv. 9. 4), and by the survival of Celtic names of mountains, forests, and rivers (older than

the names of towns and villages) which are abundant in the basin of the Rhine and of the upper Danube, and more numerous in Germany than in France. Hubert too, on the same evidence, regards southern and western Germany as the original home of the Celts.

Archaeology also points to this place of origin. German archaeologists, following Schliz and Schumacher, believe the urnfield people to be Illyrian; the people who introduced the cylinder-neck urn into Germany would therefore be connected with Veneto-Illyrian elements, as Menghin and Kraft agree. But as we know that the Catalan urnfield-folk are Celtic, though they evidently originated in Germany, we may suppose that the German urnfields also are of predominantly Celtic character.

Kraft, in his study of the urnfields of the Alb (p. 112), distinguishes two different elements in the population—the Illyrian introduced by the eastern urnfields, and the indigenous people of the ‘barrow’ culture (*Hügelgräber*). The strength of the latter people is shown by their survival into the mature Hallstatt culture of south Germany. Though Schumacher has influenced the interpretation of the culture of Germany in the La Tène period by his hypothesis that it was introduced from France, it is nevertheless easier to explain it in accordance with the general movement of peoples in the Late Hallstatt period; when, as we shall see, large bodies of Celts went westward, as far as Spain, from the Rhineland and Hesse. In these regions too, Hallstatt culture was the result of the blending of urnfield people with native barrow-folk; and by the end of the Hallstatt period, when the Celtic peoples were perfectly characterized, we may agree that the ‘proto-Celtic’ element, which was decisive in the formation of the historic tribes, was represented by the old barrow-folk of southern Germany, and probably also of eastern France. It was during the Hallstatt period that the definite historical character of the Celts first took shape, after the urnfield invasion had given its strong impulse to the natives.

The most important and most active element in forming the Celts was still the barrow-folk. But as in the Danubian urnfields themselves, the West Alpine culture may have played a leading part, introducing (as Kraft points out) the bronze antenna-swords of Mörigen, Auvernier, and Hallstatt B. This, however, was an effect of cultural intercourse, not of the intermingling of a new element in the population.

Although in German circles there is a tendency to identify urnfield people with Illyrians, many archaeologists—Kossinna, Doppelfeld, Kühn, Krebs, C. Rademacher in Germany, Hubert in France, Peake, Navarro, and Hawkes in England, and Mahr in Ireland—agree that the barrow-folk may represent a 'proto-Celtic' element. The "Illyrian" element may have been important in the formation of Celtic culture—as the intimate relation of Celtic and "Illyrian" language, recently announced by Pokorny,³⁰ seems to prove. It may even be thought that considerable groups of "Illyrians" were introduced into southern and western Germany at the same time as the urnfield people; but the final result was a Celtic people, not an "Illyrian"; which means that the indigenous population was strong enough to absorb the new-comers.

The Celts, indeed, were not a race, nor a single tribe, but a community of peoples, unified by a culture which they had created in long evolution and intercourse. Even if the groups detached from the Celtic cradle-land, and dispersed at the very beginning of the Iron Age from the Rhine to Catalonia, had not yet the definitive characteristics of the historical Celts, they had sufficient personality to be recognized as Celts, and to prove the general Celtic character of all ethnic groups related to them.

The formation of an ethnic group is a complex process, and is to be conceived, not as the differentiation of a single primitive element, but as the final assimilation of various elements, of different origin, whom common modes of life and culture have succeeded in making into a unity. The

example of later nations, such as the Alemanni, the Franks, and the Saxons, throws some light on the formation of earlier groups.

II. THE HALLSTATT AGE AND THE SECOND CELTIC WAVE

I. EVOLUTION OF URNFIELD CULTURE IN WESTERN AND CENTRAL GERMANY AND RELATED DISTRICTS DURING THE HALLSTATT AGE

The evolution of cultures in western and central Germany, during the Hallstatt periods, is complicated by the formation of many regional and local groups, in which general cultural currents blend, combining the same elements in different proportions. Some regions, too, are not sufficiently well known, and, through lack of knowledge, some conclusions may not have been very solidly established.

(a) *Middle and lower Rhine urnfields and their extensions.* The basis of this evolution is the extension of urnfield culture through the middle and lower Rhine, to Westphalia, Holland, and Belgium on the one hand, and to Hesse on the other. The neighbouring lands, Oldenburg and Hanover to the north and Thuringia to the east, seem to have been permeated by the same culture, though it soon blended with other elements from the Teutonic north. But urnfield influence persisted long, not only west of the Elbe, but also in the Jastorf culture (probably Teutonic) of Mecklenburg and Brandenburg, which lasted until the Second La Tène period. Spreading westward through Belgium, urnfield culture found there the remnants of the indigenous population of the Bronze Age barrows ('marchets'), and blended with it.

(b) *Lausitz influences.* At the beginning of the spread of urnfield culture from south Germany, the Lausitz culture of eastern Germany was still in an active phase and seems to have strongly influenced Hesse in the second period of the older urnfields (*Lausitzer Riefenurnen: Hallstatt A 2*). This

influence reached Oberhessen, Wiesbaden, Kaltenenger near Koblenz, Welloch near Mannheim, and Bavaria. The forms and decoration of these 'grooved urns' may be the source of some special features in the most northerly urn-fields of the lower Rhine; for example, the richly decorated urns of Mühlheim (Ruhr) and Wesel, as well as the urn-fields of Belgium.³¹

(c) '*Kerbschnitt*' ornament on the lower Rhine. Together with the urnfield-folk, some elements of the native Bronze Age population of central Germany may have been shifted to the lower Rhine and become active in transforming the extreme north of the urnfield domain. Here, as in south Germany, the Hallstatt culture is a blend of the new tendencies with transformed elements of the old Bronze Age tradition, which had become dominant. On the lower Rhine³² and in the neighbouring parts of Holland (Baerlo) and Belgium (Neerfelt), there is an autonomous style characterized by carved decoration (*Kerbschnitt*) with zigzags, and pendent segments of circles, on pot-forms evolved from urnfield or Hallstatt types, such as the biconical urn with rimless cylinder-neck. Pure urnfield pottery, too, is now decorated with *Kerbschnitt*.³³

All this may perhaps begin at the same time (*Hallstatt B 2*) as the urnfield-pottery of the earlier barrow-folk on the lower Rhine; but most of it may be contemporary with Hallstatt C, especially the tendency to round off the angles of the body-profile: these globular forms show the influence of the 'Koberstadt' pottery of the Wetterau and middle Rhine. This late phase of Rhenish *Kerbschnitt* pottery is also frequently associated with degenerate (*verflaute*) forms of urns.³⁴ It is often accompanied by the coarse *dolia* decorated with clay ribbons and finger-impressions, well known in association with urnfield and Hallstatt culture.

(d) *Persistence of urnfield tradition throughout the Late Hallstatt C period of the middle Rhine and Hesse, contemporary with the Koberstadt culture.* In the Eifel³⁵ very old and pure urnfield tradition persists, though in some places the forms

become highly developed, and show *Kerbschnitt* influence, mostly on conical dishes. In the Wetterau, Oberhessen, and neighbouring districts of the Rhine, the great epoch of Hallstatt C, represented by Koberstadt and Niedermockstadt, is related to the Salem type in south Germany, and has richly painted pottery and iron swords. It reached the Cologne district through the hills on the right bank of the Rhine. Koberstadt also influenced Niederhessen where strong centres of urnfield culture with barrow-graves seem to have persisted.³⁶

(e) *Evolution of urnfield culture on the lower Rhine during Hallstatt C: De Weert-Utrecht types, and the origin of the Deverel invasion of Britain.* At the end of Hallstatt C, in the peripheral districts of the lower Rhine, Holland, and Belgium, and in Westphalia, Oldenburg, and western Hanover, the forms are more specialized, and the leading types are degenerate bi-conical urns of globular profile.³⁷ In Holland there is also evolution of the old urnfield-Hallstatt types of coarse *dolia* with plastic bands—the so-called ‘Utrecht’ type, and the Deverel ‘bucket-urn’ in Britain.³⁸ In Holland and north-west Germany this culture is very poor, but at La Quénique in Belgium the pottery is accompanied by Hallstatt bronzes, and by swords of bronze and iron. Although some sword-types in the southern districts belong to an earlier stage of the Hallstatt culture, in Belgium they form a closed group with the pottery, and are probably an archaic survival.

This culture appears to have migrated to Britain, where it is mixed with indigenous traditions from the late Bronze Age (e.g. urns with overhanging rims), and is known as the ‘Deverel invasion’.

(f) *Movements in Westphalia and on the Elbe during Hallstatt C: Teutonic Wessenstedt culture.* To the migration of the Deverel types to Britain some movement of peoples in Westphalia may have contributed by exercising pressure across the Rhine. In the cemeteries of the Diersford district appears a foreign element, the bi-conical vase (*Doppelconus*),

supposed to be derived not from the biconical urns of the urnfields but from the Teutonic urns of the Nordic cultures, east and north of the Elbe,³⁹ which spread with the vanguard of the Teutons to the mouth of the Weser and to the north of the Lüneburger Heide.

This 'Wessenstedt' culture seems to have overrun the urnfield province of Oldenburg, west Hanover, and Westphalia. It represents the first westward migration of Teutons, and reached the Rhine at Diersford. But though it may have introduced foreign elements on the lower Rhine, and caused some trouble there, the Rhenish barrow-culture with urnfield heritage (*Niederrheinische Hügelgräber*) may have continued undisturbed.

(g) *Evolution of urnfield culture on the lower Rhine and related districts during Hallstatt D: Bonninghardt-Wollinghuizen barrows and Quénique-Saint-Vincent cemeteries.* Another phase of urnfield culture, during Hallstatt D, is characterized by a final development of urnfield pottery; but this tends to disappear, and urnfield forms are mixed with bi-conical survivals.⁴⁰ The same poor culture appears in Holland.⁴¹ In Belgium the traditions of the northern group of urnfields survive in the simplest pot-forms of the latest graves at La Quénique in Court Saint-Étienne (pr. Brabant), with Hallstatt D antenna-swords; and in the cemetery of Saint Vincent (pr. Luxembourg). The latter is equivalent to the cemeteries of Haulzy and others, in the neighbouring French districts, from Belgian Luxembourg to northern Lorraine.

(h) *Hallstatt D culture in Westphalia: Düstrupp type and Harpstedt movement.* The culture of Westphalia and other districts of north-eastern Germany is more influenced by the Teutonic biconical type, as is shown by the different features of the 'Düstrupp' type. But soon a new Teutonic type develops, namely the *Harpstedter Rauhtopf*, a rough vase with wavy rim, a special development of Nordic pottery under the influence of Lausitz forms, and perhaps also of Utrecht-Deverel 'bucket-urns'. It originated from a district

near the mouth of the Weser, and having attained a wide distribution in Germany, it caused the final disappearance of all urnfield cultures in Westphalia and on the lower Rhine. This spread of the *Harpstedter Rauhtopf* seems to be the climax of the movements represented by the earlier bi-conical type of Wessenstedt: a growing Teutonic colonization of north-western Germany, the *Raumgewinnung* or *Landnahme* of German archaeologists. But not all the earlier population disappeared. Probably many remained, mixed with the invaders, and were absorbed by them.

At the very end of the Hallstatt period the Harpstedt culture enters the Lippe-Rhine district south of Coblenz. At Hermeskeil near Cologne, urnfield traditions survive even into La Tène I. In Holland, *Rauhtopf* coexists with urnfield culture to the end of the Hallstatt period, and in Belgium it reached the provinces of Limburg, Maestricht, Brabant, and Flanders.

(i) *The Eifel-Hunsrück-Mehren culture.* In Hallstatt D, the Eifel and Hunsrück country, including the Saar and Moselle valleys, evolves a rich culture, with twisted rings (*Wendelringe*) of bronze and iron, which are supposed to be Nordic and therefore Teutonic, associated with pottery sometimes richly decorated with incised patterns derived from old urnfield and Lausitz ornament—grooves, loops, chevrons, and punctured dots. Some of the ceramic ornaments are thought to be impressions of finely decorated bronze *Brustwendelringe*.

This group was formerly called the 'Mehren' culture, but is now generally known as 'Eifel-Hunsrück'. It spread, however, eastward into Oberhessen, and its influence reached Niederhessen, in the vases of Marburg, Lichterküppel, and Niedercassel. But here this culture came into contact with other groups of very different character.

(j) *Hesse.* In the Fulda valley and the Rhön hills,⁴² undecorated pottery of early urnfield style persists in indigenous barrow-graves, with Late Hallstatt bronzes, especially 'kettledrum-fibulae' (*Paukenfibeln*) and other types; and

here we may note the connexion with the 'high-footed fibulae' of the Spanish post-Hallstatt culture, one of which occurs also at Harlyn Bay.⁴³ Some graves show the influence of north-east Bavaria in small globular vases with peculiar decoration.⁴⁴

In Niederhessen, Westphalian types intrude: the globular urn (associated with urnfield tradition) at Berghausen, the bi-conical Düstrupp urn at Kassel and Wehlheiden, and vases of house-urn types at Maden. From the 'skeleton-grave' districts of north Thuringia comes another group, evidently continuous with the compact sites of the Saale and Unstrut valleys; it enters the Fulda valley through the Eisenach pass and spreads mainly towards Melsungen and Kassel, and south-westward towards Marburg. These graves have mostly very simple pottery, more or less urnfield survivals. Lastly, there are graves in which this urnfield pottery is associated with rough Harpstedt ware.⁴⁵ This perhaps indicates penetration of Teutonic influences into a native culture with urnfield traditions.

(k) *The 'Skeleton-graves'*. These may be taken to represent a migratory folk pushed out of Thuringia by Teuton invaders from the north, at the end of the Late Hallstatt period. Teutonic *Rauhtopf* spreads along the Elbe; 'house-urns' and 'face-urns' along the Baltic coast, and reach the Harz and the Saale valley. The earlier population, driven into the mountains, survived there till the La Tène period, when it was absorbed by Teutons—probably by the *Hermunduri*.

(l) *Hanover and Elbe cultures: Nienburg, Harpstedt, and Jastorf*. The spread of the Harpstedt *Rauhtopf* in central Germany was checked in central Hanover by an independent régime (*Kulturkreis*) which extended from somewhere south of Bremen to north of the Wesergebirge, and eastwards followed the Aller southward from the Lüneburger Heide to the north of Brunswick. This 'Nienburg' culture originated as a distant offshoot of Lausitz tradition, but was also affected by the urnfields of Oldenburg. At the beginning of

Hallstatt D, or earlier, its pottery developed independently, with rich decoration derived from Lausitz, and related in some places to the Eifel-Hunsrück style.

About 600 B.C. the earliest Harpstedt types penetrated into Hanover, and farther south into the country between the Wesergebirge, Teutoburgerwald, upper Weser, Holzminden district, and Göttingen. Thence these types reached Niederhessen at Kassel and Melsungen, as above (p. 27). But this expansion may not have destroyed the Nienburg culture, which persisted in south Hanover, as well as in Brunswick, until La Tène I, and was then transformed by the Jastorf culture of east Hanover and Brandenburg, which has been thought to be Teutonic.

(m) *Teutons, Celts, and Illyrians in north Germany: the advance of the Teutons to the Rhine, Hesse, and Thuringia.* All this very complicated process shows that the settlement of Teutonic groups outside the traditional homes of the Nordic culture of the Bronze Age, and south of the Elbe and Mecklenburg, was only achieved by slow spread among populations of originally different character (p. 47)—of Lausitz culture from Oldenburg eastwards, of Celtic urnfield culture in Oldenburg, Westphalia, and south-west Hanover.

Teutonic culture, progressive and prosperous, as its bronzes show, till the end of the Nordic Bronze Age, about 750 B.C., now enters on a phase of stagnation and decay; and although the Teutonic migrations then began, and more southerly cultures became interpenetrated by Teutonic intruders, these brought with them no high level of culture. For the most part, the indigenous civilizations continued long, though the peoples themselves constantly received fresh infusions of foreign blood. The process seems to have resembled the later Teutonic penetration and settlement in the Roman *Limes*. During the Hallstatt period the frontier of the Teutonic peoples remained at the Elbe, the limit reached by those western cultures which were derived from that of the urnfields, or connected with it.

Evidently Teutonic pressure must have originated move-

ment westward. At the end of the Hallstatt period, as German archaeologists point out, the home of the western Mehren or Eifel-Hunsrück culture seems to have been overcrowded, especially the Saar and Moselle valleys. Into these districts the immigrants seem to have converged, through the Wetterau, from Hesse and Thuringia, retreating also from the neighbourhood of Cologne and Coblenz to the Moselle and Treves. Nevertheless, these Teutonic movements must have been checked, for in La Tène I the frontier had been re-established almost from the Eifel to the Rhine at Coblenz and to the Taunus.⁴⁶ This is shown by the rich 'chieftains' graves' (*Fürstengräber*) which contain objects imported from Greece, as do the Late Hallstatt graves of south Germany and of France.

2. HALLSTATT CULTURE IN FRANCE

(a) *The main group of French Hallstatt culture in eastern France.* The central part of eastern France seems to have been still an independent province in the Hallstatt periods, as it had been in the Late Bronze Age. A somewhat similar culture develops throughout Franche-Comté, Lorraine, Bourgogne, and the plateau of Langres, of urnfield origin, but mixed with Bronze Age barrow-traditions; and the new Hallstatt influences from the Rhineland are especially evident in swords and other bronze types. This earliest group of French urnfields⁴⁷ is more or less equivalent to the German Gündling phase: at Diarville there is maeander ornament.

The mature Hallstatt C culture, in the time of the famous Hallstatt swords, appears in the great barrows of Combe-Boiteuse and Monceau (Côte-d'Or) and Bois de Langres (Haute-Marne): maeander ornament continues at Bois de Langres, and in the settlement at Baume-les-Messieurs (Jura) where there is also *Kerbschnitt* and painted ware. The Late Hallstatt D culture⁴⁸ remains very rich in bronzes (equivalent to the barrel-bracelets of the upper Rhine), in fibulae, and in decorated girdles. The most important

centres of this culture are in Côte-d'Or and Jura, especially north of Dijon, and in the Forêt des Moidons between Salins and Arbois; in the latter district more than 40,000 barrows are known. Hill-forts are frequent in Burgundy, Franche-Comté, and Lorraine.⁴⁹

(b) *Extension of Hallstatt culture to Languedoc: Greek influences in Hallstatt D; Iberian culture in eastern France.* This Late Hallstatt C culture permeates the urnfields of the lower Rhône valley and reaches the Languedoc coast, among survivals of urnfield and older régimes. In Gard, urnfield pottery with a peculiar *Kerbschnitt* decoration is often misinterpreted as Bronze Age ware, but has been correctly dated by E. Vogt.⁵⁰ A bronze Hallstatt sword appears in the cremation-cemetery of Sainte Cécile (Vaucluse). In Aude, urnfield pottery remains very pure, though with developed forms, as in the pedestal-cups of La Redorte (Mailhac) but advanced Hallstatt influence appears in bronzes from the Trou-de-Viviès cave near Narbonne, and in the Rouffiac hoard (Corbières). In other districts of southern France,⁵¹ bronzes of the so-called Launac culture show a mixture of Late Hallstatt types with traditions of the local Bronze Age. In Hallstatt D, genuine Hallstatt types, such as the antenna-sword, appear in the tumulus of Airolles (Gard), and seem to go on after the beginning of La Tène in eastern France, e.g. the antenna-sword with hilt also of iron from a grave at Nîmes. This probably points to archaic survival of Hallstatt culture in the graves of the most outlying districts of Tarn,⁵² where 'post-Hallstatt' culture (p. 64 ff., below) supersedes La Tène I, as in the west of France⁵³ and in central Spain.

It is chiefly after the foundation of the Greek colony of Marseilles, about 600 B.C.—though it may have begun earlier—that Greek trade penetrates the Hallstatt areas of eastern France, scattering Greek bronzes there, and even in the Rhine basin:⁵⁴ cauldrons with griffins, and tripods, at Sainte-Colombe (Côte-d'Or), Rhodian jugs at Agnel near Pertuis (Vaucluse), from a barrow at Vienne (Isère),

and of unknown origin in the Lyons Museum. By way of the Rhône and its Hallstatt peoples, Rhodian jugs also reached Remilly in Loiret, and even Germany.⁵⁵ Other Greek imports are the Ionian cup in the Trois-Quartiers tumulus in Pertuis (Vaucluse) and Greek grey-ware of Asia Minor fabric from the Camp du Château, Salins (Jura). At the end of the Hallstatt period, Attic pottery, too, reached the Camp du Château, and during La Tène I there was active trade in Greek bronzes and Attic pottery to south Germany, the Rhine, and Hesse. In the maritime districts, Greek trade—and probably also Etruscan trade—was active, not only around Marseilles but also on the coast of Aude;⁵⁶ and continued through the fifth and fourth centuries.

During the latest Hallstatt period, on the coast of Aude, a change of culture seems to have intervened; the settlements are no longer of Hallstatt character, but resemble the Iberian settlements of Spain.⁵⁷ Later this Iberian culture reached Baou-Roux and Simiane near Marseilles, and remained very pure.⁵⁸ La Tène I types are scarce:⁵⁹ only at the end of La Tène II did Celtic types appear. Evidently from the sixth to the third century La Tène objects came to the Aude only in the same way as Greek pottery. The predominant population kept its indigenous character, with some Iberian admixture.

(c) *Celts and other peoples in Languedoc.* From historical sources comes evidence of such changes. The *Periplus* makes Iberian population extend along the coast up to the Montpellier district, and the mention of Narbo (Narbonne) as the capital of a vanished kingdom (p. 18) points to conquest of the older southern territory of the Hallstatt culture by Iberians. At the end of the sixth century Hecataeus states that the Elysices of the Narbonne district are Ligurians, probably representing the indigenous population, after domination by Hallstatt and urnfield invaders, coming to the surface again under Iberian suzerainty. Aeschylus (fr. 199 Nauck²) places Ligurians around the Crau plain between

Marseilles and the Rhône. If the urnfield invaders were Celtic, and the subsequent Hallstatt conquerors also, the Narbo kingdom of the *Periplus* may have belonged to the Celts, while the Salluvii who were neighbours to Marseilles seem to have been not Celts but Ligurians. The urnfield Celts of the Narbo kingdom were absorbed by Ibericized Elysices; and at the end of the third century these in turn were dominated by the Volcae.⁶⁰

Unlike the lower Rhône, the middle and upper Rhône valley with the adjoining districts, and the plateaux of central and eastern France, where the Hallstatt culture had permeated, do not seem to have experienced any change of population: and we learn from the *Periplus*' mention of Celts (*Galli*) in the upper Rhône valley that, in accordance with the archaeological remains, the Hallstatt people belonged to the Celtic tribes which later appear strongly established there. The Helvii, Vocontii, and Allobroges of the Rhône valley, like the Sequani of the Saône and the Aedui of Burgundy, were probably all alike Celtic tribes from the Hallstatt period onwards.

(d) *Hallstatt culture in central France.* For the Hallstatt period in other regions of France we have but scarce and fragmentary evidence, and it is hardly possible to formulate a sequence of periods, or to trace the evolution of culture. The best-known region is the Central Plateau and its dependencies, where a poorer Hallstatt culture seems to have been evolved, perhaps out of the urnfields which reached its borderlands, Allier and Nièvre in the north, Tarn in the south, and in the west possibly Dordogne; with new influences from the Hallstatt C culture of eastern France.⁶¹ The penetration of the latter is evident from the cemetery of La Planèze (Cantal) which has pottery of very pure German-Hallstatt character, and iron swords. Pottery with *Kerbschnitt* decoration occurs in the tumulus de la Vernouille near Saint-Ibard (Corrèze), and Hallstatt painted-ware at Sauveterre-la-Lémance (Lot-et-Garonne). An iron sword found associated with bronze bowls in the Tumulus de

l'Aven Armand (Lozère), and similar bronze bowls in the Dolmen du Gènevrier, Salles (Aveyron), are secondary finds; pottery with maeander decoration, as in the Hallstatt C cemeteries of eastern France, is known from Lavène near Montsalvi (comm. Puygouzon, Tarn). This culture seems to continue into Hallstatt D.⁶²

(e) *Limousin and Périgord.* It is difficult to decide whether such finds in the Limousin and Périgord on the extreme borders of the Central Plateau, as the vases of the tumulus of Liviers near Jumillac-le-Grand (Dordogne) and of the Forêt de Saint-Hilaire-Lastou (Haute-Vienne), are to be connected with the Hallstatt culture of central France: these urns are globular with peculiar decoration related to the Avezac-Prat group in south-western France: there are also bucket-urns. Such finds may belong to the last phase of Hallstatt D.

Another difficult problem is presented by the pottery of Bois-du-Roc and other places in Charente, with *Kerbschnitt* decoration mixed with geometrical incised patterns: forms and ornament alike are reminiscent of the Eifel pottery.

(f) *Gironde and the Landes: Hallstatt and post-Hallstatt cultures of south-western France.* There is a well-known and interesting group of Hallstatt cemeteries in Gironde, as well as in the Landes.⁶³ They contain very varied pottery, and represent a long evolution, from the period of the Hallstatt iron sword to the post-Hallstatt antenna-sword, both found in Truc-du-Bourdion. There are also Late Hallstatt fibulae recalling central German types, and girdle-clasps identical with the post-Hallstatt types in Spain (pp. 57 ff.). The pottery has some archaic types; urn-field forms and bossed decoration (*Büchelkeramik*), together with later globular pedestal-vases,⁶⁴ and other globular vases resembling the British pottery of Deverel II and All Cannings Cross. Other urns, again, seem related to the Rhenish and Westphalian barrows of the latest Hallstatt period (Bonninghardt) as well as to the Portuguese urns of

Alpiarça. This culture seems to have found, on its arrival, an indigenous survival of aeneolithic cave-culture, resembling that of Marlès in Catalonia.

Closely related to this Gironde-Landes group is that of Basses- and Hautes-Pyrénées.⁶⁵ Here, too, there are very archaic types of Hallstatt and urnfield urns, with bosses, globular pedestal-vases, and bucket-urns, as at Jumillac-le-Grand; but the accompanying finds are of exclusively post-Hallstatt character, not older than the fifth century B.C.—antenna-swords, girdle-clasps, and fibulae.

The cemetery of Ayer, Bordes-sur-Lez (Ariège), may be related to the Gironde-Avezac groups: it has Late Hallstatt urns, bucket-urns, and pedestal-vases, with simple geometric ornament like that of the cemetery of Les Jogasses (Marne) in north-eastern France.

This western Hallstatt culture of Gironde-Landes included elements possibly connected with the Hallstatt of central France as well as others which arrived during Hallstatt D. This is the link with the Late Hallstatt and post-Hallstatt cultures of southern France,⁶⁶ and also with some Spanish cultures. It seems to be the secondary origin of some migrations preceding the main groups or joining them. Here we may affiliate some elements of the archaic Hallstatt groups of Spain,⁶⁷ which have *Kerbschnitt*. To these perhaps the *Kerbschnitt* of central France may have contributed, as well as the archaic elements in the lower stratum of Cogotas I and Numantia in central Spain, in which also *Kerbschnitt* and Rhenish forms and decorations occur. Some pottery types of the Gironde cemeteries, related to the plain Westphalian urns of Bonninghardt, which reappear at Alpiarça in Portugal, may point to the passage through the Gironde of groups detached from the lower Rhine; and those may be considered as the driving impulse of some of these movements.

(g) *The Loire*. The northern and north-western boundaries of the Hallstatt culture of France are not clearly known. In the north-west there are finds of Late Hallstatt D

character at Remilly (Loiret), with a Rhodian oenochoe, and at Bouzais and other rich tumuli in Cher.

(h) *Haulzy and Jogasses*. In the north-east, no equivalents of the Hallstatt culture of eastern France are known. But in the extreme north-east there are connexions with Saint-Vincent in Belgian Luxembourg, in the cemeteries of Haulzy in the Argonne, and Diedenhofen (Thionville), on the northernmost margin of Lorraine. These finds indicate only poor remnants of urnfield culture, corresponding with Late Hallstatt graves on the Rhine and in Westphalia, preceding the late culture of Westphalia itself and Dutch Bonninghardt and Wollinguizen. This group survived in isolation in the hills between the Argonne forest, the Ardennes, and the Eifel and Hunsrück.

North and west of these urnfield survivals extended the true Belgian culture of the Late Hallstatt period,⁶⁸ which we may connect with the typical Marne cemeteries of Late Hallstatt D. They form a definite 'Jogassian' group⁶⁹ related to the graves of Les Jogasses near Chouilly, and are assigned by M. l'Abbé Favret to Hallstatt II *b*, the generally accepted 'Hallstatt D' period being the 'Hallstatt II' of Déchelette's system. The 'Jogassian' is supposed to be transitional from Hallstatt to La Tène I; which occurs only in its final phase in dep. Marne as the so-called 'Marnian'; and this, according to Favret, represents an entirely new culture, unconnected with the 'Jogassian', of which the swords are no longer of Hallstatt character, but transitional (like the girdle-clasps) to La Tène types. The fibulae, however, are related to Hallstatt D types, and the pottery retains some Hallstatt character; some forms recalling late urnfield survivals like those at La Quénique, others the types at All Cannings Cross; while conical pedestal-vases recall Late Hallstatt types from Ayer and Avezac-Prat in southern France, and other forms the older Rhenish Hallstatt, such as conical dishes with geometrical incised patterns, and ornaments like those of the Eifel-Hunsrück pottery.

As the pottery of the Hallstatt D culture of eastern France

is not well known, it is difficult to say whether the 'Jogassian' can be an offshoot of this, or more properly of the Late Hallstatt of La Quénique and Haulzy. The latter is more probable; and if so, the 'Jogassian' will be collateral with All Cannings Cross, in the Early Iron Age of Britain. Perhaps Germanic pressure on the Belgian border displaced people in several directions, to Britain, and to the Marne. It is not impossible that the later 'Marnian' (see above) may be a development, under new influences, of the great culture of the *Fürstengräber* (p. 29), and that these influences reached the Belgian groups too.

(i) *Brittany and the British Isles.* Though little known, Brittany and the neighbouring districts show some connexions with the cultures of Belgium and the lower Rhine, and parallels with the British groups. Some of the pottery recalls late types from Deverel and Rimbury,⁷⁰ and might be connected with the movements of the Deverel-folk. But it is difficult, in the present state of knowledge, to decide whether Brittany was reached also by Celts belonging to the movements which brought the Bonninghardt and Eifel-Hunsrück cultures to the extreme west, or whether such finds represent trade-influence from Galicia.⁷¹ In the Second Iron Age, relations with Spain, as well as with Britain, are accepted, and the duck-patterns on the pottery are common both to Brittany and Galicia, and to Brittany and Britain. Through such later intercourse, other Spanish types came to the extreme north-west, such as the 'Harlyn Bay' type of fibula in Britain, and the Iberian bronze statuettes (related to those of Despeñaperros) both in Britain and in Ireland.⁷²

3. ETHNOLOGY OF THE HALLSTATT CULTURE

(a) *No ethnological break on the Rhine from Hallstatt to La Tène.* The La Tène culture in Germany is recognized to have been Celtic. The *Fürstengräber* of La Tène I must be so too, for in many respects these represent the beginning of the La Tène series. But the Hallstatt D culture, and

especially the Eifel-Hunsrück series, was also Celtic, and therewith the Hallstatt culture of eastern France, through which so many Greek elements arrived in western Germany from Marseilles. It is difficult to admit a break in evolution at the beginning of the La Tène period on the Rhine, where we have the final result of Hallstatt development combined with the growing Greek influence which persists throughout La Tène I. This points to continuity of population in eastern France and on the Rhine, from the very beginning of the urnfield culture to the Hallstatt period. Here, as we have seen, was the origin of the various groups not only of the Rhine, Belgium, and Holland, but also of Westphalia, Hesse, and Thuringia, and on the other hand, of eastern and central France, the Rhône valley, and southern France, where the descendants of the urnfield Celts remained.

(b) *Historical Celts on the upper Rhône before the time of the Hallstatt Celts.* Literary evidence for the presence of Celts is the phrase *arva gallici soli* in the *Periplus* (*Ora Maritima*, l. 637). This confirms the Celtic character of the Hallstatt culture in France, for (as we have seen) no changes of population took place on the Rhône from the time of the urnfield culture, from which the Hallstatt culture is derived. In central France the first urnfield-folk were perhaps followed by new invaders from eastern France, bringing Hallstatt culture; and as no other changes of population took place in central France during the La Tène period, we may be sure that the historical Celts of this region are the descendants of the Hallstatt people, who easily absorbed the natives, since such districts were not very densely populated, when they arrived. In this way we obtain some evidence of the antiquity of the tribes of the Central Plateau (*Massif Central*) and its dependencies—the *Arverni* of the Auvergne, the *Vellavi*, *Gabali*, and *Ruteni* between the Central Plateau and the Cévennes (the Celtic name of which is also given in the *Periplus*), the *Cadurci* of the Cahors district and of the Lot valley, the *Petrocorii* of Périgord, the

Lemovices of Limousin and of Vendée (Caesar, *B.G.* vii. 75. 2, viii. 46. 4). The *Segusiavi* of the Lyonnais, as well as the *Sequani* of Franche-Comté and the *Aedui* of Burgundy, may be descendants of the old Hallstatt-folk of this district.

(c) *Lingones*, *Senones*, *Nemetes*, *Bituriges*, and *Turones*. On the plateau of Langres, it may be discussed whether the *Lingones* represent the Hallstatt people. That they belong to a very old stratum is evident, as they appear in Asturias as the *Lungones* after the end of the Late Hallstatt movements; and the *Lingones* of Langon in one of the passes of the Garonne, whose name remains in the Landes, south of Bordeaux, are another remnant of their westward migration.

The same problem is presented by the *Senones* of Sens and the *Nemetes* of Nemours. Perhaps the *Senones* were the Haulzy people of the Ardennes and northern Lorraine, and were displaced at the same time as the *Jogasses* people. The main mass of the *Senones* extended over the Moselle valley from the Ardennes to the Vosges, where later the *Mediomatrici* were perhaps the *Jogasses* people. The *Senones* left many place-names—*Senones* (Vosges), *Senon* (Ardennes), *Senoncourt* (Verdun), *Senonville* (Commercy). Their main group went to Italy, and was replaced by the *Mediomatrici*, but a smaller party stayed in the Sens district.

The main group, to which the *Nemetes* of Nemours and the *Nemetati* of Spain belonged, remained in Germany, east of the Rhine, and became Teutonized (p. 78, and n. 73).

Of the *Bituriges* of Bourges, other units are known, together with *Santones*, in the Main district of Germany, perhaps remnants near the earlier home of the whole people. The *Bituriges Vivisci* in the Gironde had certainly come from districts farther east. Perhaps the *Bituriges Cubi* of Bourges itself are representatives of the rich Late Hallstatt culture of dep. Loiret.

The *Turones* of Touraine bear the same name as the pre-Teutonic population of Thuringia—part of which

was absorbed by the Teutonic Hermunduri—and as the Spanish *Turodes* of Galicia and *Turolenses* of Teruel.⁷³

The Hallstatt culture of the northern Loire valley is mostly unknown, and the only remnants, at Loiret (Cher), belong to Late Hallstatt D. So it may be presumed that these people came from Germany in consequence of the movements in Hesse, Thuringia, and the districts of Eifel—Hunsrück culture. The direction of their move to the Moselle and the Saar marks the beginning of the migration-route by Nancy or Metz—Bar-le-Duc—Troyes—Orleans—Tours. Thence a conglomerate of various tribes—Lingones, Nemetes, Turones, and perhaps Bituriges and Santones—broke away from the main body, and continued to move southward—by Angoulême, the lower Garonne passes, and Bayonne—to the passes of the western Pyrenees and so into Spain. They were perhaps joined by other tribes from Touraine or other districts through which they passed; for in Spain appear, with the tribes already mentioned, groups connected with the *Lemovices* of Limousin, and perhaps some other peoples who were living in south-western France at the end of the Hallstatt period, such as the *Belendi* (*Belendones*) and *Berybraces* (p. 41). Some of these mixed peoples stayed in districts along the route, and are recognizable in the Lingones of Langon (Gironde), the Bituriges Vivisci (also Gironde), and perhaps the Santones of Saintes (Charente) where the finds at Bois-du-Roc may have belonged to them.

(d) *Bebryces and Belendi: Celtic tribes in the later Aquitanian conglomerate.* Some of the tribes mentioned in south-western France may have remained there from the Hallstatt period; and this helps to give an idea of the complex movements of the Celts at this time. It also points to this region as the main road for migration into Spain.

The late pre-Roman population of Aquitania took its name from the *Aquitani*, who were certainly Iberians, and dominated a complex of peoples of different origins. These Aquitanians, in connexion with the Iberians of south-eastern

France, spread very early, along the route Narbonne-Carcassonne-Toulouse, at the expense of the Celtic urnfield peoples (p. 14). In the cemetery at Saint-Rech near Toulouse,⁷⁴ the later graves are furnished like Iberian graves of the sixth to fourth centuries at Ensérune near Béziers and in the settlements of the Iberian masters of Languedoc. At Toulouse the Iberian culture is superseded by Middle La Tène equipment brought by the *Volcae Tectosages*, representing the Late Celtic invaders during the last phases of movement in south-eastern France. The Aquitanians were then driven to their furthest districts west of the Garonne, where a Celticized population had been settled since the latest Hallstatt period.

It is difficult to state the characteristics of each tribe mentioned in later sources—Strabo, Caesar, and Pliny—as elements of the Aquitanian conglomerate.⁷⁵ Some of them, such as the *Garumni* in the upper Garonne valley and the *Tarbelli* of Tarbes, may have been Celts; the *Garumni* were probably the inhabitants of the Comminges and Cousserans districts before the establishment there of the *Conveni* and *Conсорani*, of various origins, by the Romans. Other peoples, such as the *Onesii* of the Luchon valley, the *Bigorriones* (Bigorré), and the *Ausci* (Auch), may represent indigenes, more or less Celticized. Perhaps the *Garumni* were urnfield remnants, and the *Tarbelli* the Late Hallstatt and post-Hallstatt folk of the Avezac-Prat culture. The *Ausci* are certainly an old pre-Celtic population; their name has been connected with *euzco*, the equivalent of Basque; and like the *Ausetani* of AUSA-Vich in Catalonia, they may be a Pyrenean remnant.⁷⁶

In the eastern Pyrenees it is the same. The *Tarasconenses* (Tarascon-sur-Ariège), whose name may be related to Tarascon on the Rhône, may be a remnant of the urnfield population of the Ariège valley. There are also names connected with the Celtic god *Belenos*—Bois de la Belène near Mirepoix (Ariège), Belin (Gironde), and the *Pelendones* of the Soria and Logroño hills in Spain. The *Belendi*

mentioned by Pliny⁷⁷ may be remnants, under Aquitanian dominion, of the same old peoples. Their coming might be connected with the Gironde and Avezac-Prat cemeteries, and with elements in the graves of Ayer (Ariège) which are related to the Jogasses pottery of the Marne.

Confined to the eastern Pyrenees between the Cerdagne passes (Col de la Perche) and the Roussillon pass in the upper Tech valley, the *Bebryces*, known from Dio's description of Hannibal's campaigns, may be connected with the *Berybraces* of Spain, who are perhaps related to the archaic Hallstatt folk from south-western France, as well as to more distant groups:⁷⁸ they may be an old Celtic population, perhaps a fragment of an older urnfield expansion before the true Hallstatt period. The position of the *Bibroci* in Britain may point to an inroad which was repulsed. The Spanish *Berybraces* may be connected with the peoples and movements of south-western France, as we shall see; the east Pyrenean *Bebrices*, with the coming of the *Belendi* from the west. They may, however, be a remnant of the urnfield population of the Narbo kingdom (p. 18), as their position seems to show in an isolated mountain-district, excellently connected with the Roussillon plain.⁷⁹

The Gironde-Landes district, with so complex a culture, may have been occupied also by different elements in superposition. The Celts who were there in late pre-Roman times are the *Boii*, who had immigrated at an advanced stage of the La Tène period, and the *Bituriges-Vivisci*, an outlying group of the *Bituriges*. Of these peoples, other remains have been found around Bourges, and also in Germany; but in the migrations of 400 B.C. the main body moved to Bohemia, and was the principal element in the expeditions of Bellovesus and Segovesus. It is hardly possible to admit migrations from France to Central Europe after the beginning of the La Tène period, since all known migrations until that time had come from the Rhine westward. The expeditions of Bellovesus and Segovesus seem to have been later in date than the *Fürstengräber* of the

Rhine, and it was perhaps from the middle Rhine that the main body of the Bituriges spread to Bohemia. The Bituriges may have belonged to the Eifel-Hunsrück and related cultures; and may have assisted in holding the frontier against the Teutons in the general settlement when the migrations were over. To these migrations they may themselves have contributed, and groups of them were settled (as we have seen) around Bourges (*Bituriges-Cubi*) and in the Gironde (*Bituriges-Vivisci*) with other peoples of Hallstatt age and culture. To these may also have belonged the *Belendi* (p. 39), later effaced and perhaps absorbed by the Bituriges.

North of the Garonne, around Saintonge (Charente), the *Santones*, another migratory group, explain the Late Hallstatt character of Bois-du-Roc, and its connexion with the Eifel culture; for there was another group of Santones in Germany between Main and Odenwald, probably a remnant still in their original home.

(e) *Celts in northern France: Jogasses, Deverel, Belgic tribes.* In later times the population of northern Champagne represented Belgic intruders such as the *Remi*. These had effaced the older people of the 'Marnian' La Tène culture, and of the 'Jogassian'. As has been said (p. 35), it is difficult to decide whether the Jogasses people came from Belgium or were connected with Teutonic tribes of the middle Rhine such as the Treviri, who were probably of Eifel-Hunsrück culture, though some German archaeologists do not admit this. The Marnian and Jogassian peoples might be identified with the *Mediomatrici*, who were displaced later by Belgic invaders of Middle La Tène culture, and moved from the Matrona (Marne) district to the Moselle, whence, shortly before, the Senones had set out for Italy (p. 38).

That the culture of the greater part of Belgium at the end of the Hallstatt period was that of the Celtic peoples, known as the Belgae, now seems evident. They had moved west at a very late stage of the First Iron Age, as is proved by their presence in Spain as the last-comers in the Celtic

invasion. As the names show, their tribes in Spain are duplicates of tribes in Belgium (pp. 72, 86, 88), *Suessiones*, *Bellovaci*, and they must have started from Belgium since in Spain they still had Hallstatt D culture. The post-Hallstatt evolution of such tribes begins with pure Hallstatt types, with no La Tène mixture in its oldest stages.

The identification of the Belgic group with the Late Hallstatt culture of Belgium, and the departure of the Spanish Belgae before the end of the Hallstatt period and before the expansion of the Jogassian culture—no Jogassian types being found in the culture of the Spanish Belgae—gives a *terminus ante quem* for the All Cannings Cross migration to England, and also permits us to assert the Celtic character of the older Deverel invasions. These left the lower Rhine with the Hallstatt C culture, represented by the older finds of La Quénique. Since there is continuity of evolution here to the later graves related to Jogasses, and since we can hardly believe that the Belgae were not indigenous in Belgium, this indicates the uninterrupted presence of Celts in Belgium and in the related districts of Holland. People coming thence to Britain in the Deverel period must therefore have belonged to the Celtic family.

(f) *Deverel-folk and 'Q'-Celts*. If the Deverel-folk were Celtic, it follows that if Celts penetrated as far as Brittany and the Channel Islands, some of those of Normandy and Brittany must have belonged to this stratum. And if 'Q'-Celts in Britain can be connected with the Iron Age invaders of Deverel and All Cannings Cross, the chronology of their migrations should be satisfactorily explained by the course of events in Belgium and on the lower Rhine.⁸⁰

4. THE TEUTONIC PRESSURE BEHIND THE SECOND CELTIC WAVE

(a) *Cimbri, Germani, and Westphalian Celts*. The general impulse behind the Celtic movements in the Middle and Late Hallstatt periods is related archaeologically to the

movements of cultures probably Teutonic in Westphalia, Hesse, and Thuringia, which were effected by pressure from southern Jutland and the lower Elbe (p. 27).

Of the Celtic populations of Germany displaced by the Teutons we know the *Campsiani* and the *Turones*; the latter connected (p. 38) with the Turones of Tours and with the Spanish Turodes and Turolenses. The *Campsiani*⁸¹ are a small Celtic group which stayed behind, between the Teutonic Chauci and Cimbri, and reappeared as the *Cemps*i in the Iberian Peninsula, in southern Portugal and Estremadura. The question has been discussed whether the *Cemps*i were Celts or (as Schulten says) Teutons.⁸² Probably they represent the Celtic urnfield population of Westphalia, into which Teutonic elements penetrated early,⁸³ and consequently they were a mixed folk (like all the population of the plains between Rhine and Elbe), with the characteristic culture of Düstrupp and (later) Bonninghardt-Wollinghuizen on the lower Rhine and in Holland. This seems also to have been shared by the *Cemps*i of Portugal, in the cemetery of Alpiarça.

Some *Cimbri* seem to have come to Spain with the *Cemps*i, and reached southern Andalusia, where a town was still named *Cembricum* in Roman times. In Germany the *Cimbri* perhaps belonged to the Teutonic tribes who spread the bi-conical vases, and were probably descended from the original *Cimbric* group in Jutland, and reached Germany through the Ditmarschen country, crossing the Elbe into Westphalia. Their culture was of 'Late Bronze Age V', which corresponds to the Hallstatt series. Another Teutonic people, the *Germani*, reached Spain with the *Cemps*i, and remained in the northern districts of the Sierra Morena, lost among the Iberian *Oretani*, but located by *Oretum Germanorum*. Those *Germani* who remained in the Rhineland eventually gave their name to the whole Teutonic group, as described by Tacitus in a famous passage (*Germania*, i. 5). If they were among the Harpstedt *Rauhtopf* people, their arrival in Spain with the *Cemps*i perhaps

reveals them as the vanguard of those Harpstedt-folk who drove the Westphalian population westward and intermingled with it.

(b. α) *Advance of Teutons of Harpstedt culture, and departure of Celts from middle Germany and Belgium: Spanish Turones and Galician Poemani.* The spread of the Eifel-Hunsrück culture from Hesse and Thuringia into eastern and central France must be connected with that of the Harpstedt people, and in Thuringia also with the intrusion of 'face-urn' people from the Baltic coast (p. 27). From the original centre of Harpstedt culture in north Hanover, one branch went to Westphalia and ousted the Cimbri, Cempsii, and vanguard of Germani. Thence it turned northward through the Rhine valley into the district south of Coblenz. It was this intrusion among peoples of Eifel-Hunsrück culture that caused their exodus westward, intermingled with the vanguard of the Poemani and the Turones of Thuringia who were retreating before an independent advance of the 'face-urn' Teutons. Later the Harpstedt Poemani reached the lower Lippe, and thence penetrated among the Belgae.

In Spain, among the Celts of Galicia, there are traces of the Teutonic *Poemani*,⁸⁴ a Teutonic people who are found later also in the Ardennes. This geographical distribution shows that they came with peoples of the Eifel-Hunsrück culture. The Poemani of Spain may therefore have belonged to that group of Harpstedt people who displaced the Celts of the middle Rhine, and travelled with them; while the main body, remaining in Belgium, represents an independent intrusion of *Rauhtopf*-folk from the lower Rhine, which caused the later movements of the Belgae.

(b. β) *Penetration of Teutonic elements among the Belgae.* The invasion of Belgium by Teutons of Harpstedt culture was probably not a full conquest of the country nor a displacement of large masses of population, but an infiltration continued over a long period, and resulting in mixture; such too were the later infiltrations, which had given the Belgae their peculiar character in Caesar's time. The first collisions

caused the departure of some groups, but the mass of the people remained, and absorbed most of the new-comers who, however, also joined the later emigrations, as did the *Cauci* (*Chauci*), coming to Ireland with the Belgic *Menapii* and *Dumnonii*.

(b. γ) *The Jogasses and Deverel migrations.* In this context must be discussed the migration of the peoples of Jogasses and All Cannings Cross. They may have set out between the older Deverel I invasion in Middle Hallstatt times, and this later Belgic migration which was due to the spread of the *Rauhtopf* people; the precise occasion was perhaps the beginning of the Harpstedt movement. For, while Harpstedt pressure caused Eifel-Hunsrück peoples to move through the Lorraine avenue into eastern France, the movement of Harpstedt-folk to the lower Rhine was transmitted to the Westphalian conglomerate of Cimbri and Cempsî, and this group advanced from the mouth of the Lippe by way of Wesel-Nijmegen-Antwerp, thus causing the All Cannings Cross (or Deverel II) group to depart for Britain. Spreading southward also, perhaps, it drove the Jogasses group into Champagne.

(b. δ) *Belgic movements.* Finally, renewed intrusion of Harpstedt-folk into Belgium caused the migration of the Belgic group of Spanish Celts. But though some of the Suessiones, Bellovaci, and other tribes set out for Spain and arrived there, others remained in northern France, undisturbed until Roman times, as an element in the most important group of Belgic tribes; and while other Teutonic penetrations during the La Tène period caused Belgic tribes to cross the Channel, and spread over Britain and Ireland, those Belgae who remained became more or less transformed by Teutonic blood.

(b. ε) *The way through western France.* On their way to western France, and thence into Spain, the Cimbri-Cempsî-Germani had some influence on the Gironde culture, indicated by undecorated urns of Bonninghardt type. They also spread Jogassian forms and patterns, and bucket-urns

and globular urns of late Deverel-Rimbury types, at Avezac-Prat and elsewhere. In this way Jogassian elements reached the late urnfield culture of Ayer (Ariège); and with this may be connected the expulsion of the Belendi and Berybraces from Gironde and the Landes into Spain (p. 41).

(b. 3) *The Deverel Celts in northern France.* Perhaps it was in connexion with this exodus, supported by some of the oldest Celtic tribes of northern France—whose arrival is to be traced in this movement—that the late Deverel-Rimbury elements reached Brittany and the Channel Islands.

5. THE CHARACTER OF THE TEUTONIC OCCUPATION (*Landnahme*)

This reconstruction of the beginnings of Celtic migration to the west, and the recognition of its origin in the Teutonic movements in northern Germany, may also contribute to our understanding of the routes and methods of the Teutonic occupation (*Landnahme*) itself. This was not strictly a migration (*Völkerwanderung*), but only a gradual infiltration of Teutons among the inhabitants of northern Germany, west of the Elbe, who (as we have seen) were mostly Celtic, and inherited the urnfield culture of the Hallstatt periods.

Similar spread of Teutonic groups into eastern Germany permeated and also absorbed the peoples of Lausitz culture, who were probably Illyrians. In northern and central Germany compact Celtic groups remained till very late, such as Strabo's *Campsiani* in north Westphalia, and the *Turones* in Thuringia (p. 38); other alien but anonymous groups remained in the Nienburg culture, and the *Semnones* of Brandenburg and other tribes of eastern Germany had to absorb a very considerable Illyrian population. Outside the boundaries of the Celtic world, and in territories properly 'old Teutonic', there is evidence for the character of certain tribes, who may be represented as a Celtic *enclave*—the *Ambrones* of western Jutland, whose name is thought to be Celtic; the *Lemovii* at the mouth of the Oder on the Baltic

coast, who dwelt near the Rugii in Roman times;⁸⁵ the *Aestii* of eastern Prussia and Lithuania, whose language, according to Tacitus, 'resembled that of Britain' (Tacitus, *Germania*, 45. 2).

The *Aestii* can hardly be considered as Celts, for they belong to the Baltic group of peoples, and are the ancestors (together with Finns) of the modern Esthonians. Tacitus' statement about their language has been regarded as a mistake of the Roman *eques* who visited the amber-markets of northern Europe in Nero's time, and was perhaps misled, by phonetic likeness to Gallic languages, to emphasize the difference between the language of the *Aestii* and adjacent Teutonic dialects. Yet perhaps there was among the *Aestii* some influence of Celtic speech, as there was in some Teutonic districts.

The name of the *Lemovii* is to be compared with that of the *Lemovices* of western France and of the *Lemavi* of Spanish Galicia, who were certainly Celts. Perhaps the latter, like the *Ambrones* of Jutland, represent old colonies of Celtic traders in the amber markets; and the *Aestii*, too, were living in one of the richest amber districts. Among the Teutons, also, there were Celtic chiefs' names; and the name of the Teutonic *Burgundiones* has been considered to be Celtic, and related to that of the *Brigantii*.

The distribution of certain geographical names in Germany coincides with that of cultures properly regarded as Celtic, and is bounded by the Elbe and the mountains of Thuringia.⁸⁶ This probably means that no great number of Celts had gone farther than this; but as cultural influence—indicated by archaeological evidence, and by Celtic names for implements, and for political and social institutions—is frequent among Teutonic peoples, we may admit active intercourse with Celts, north and east of the Elbe, and may infer the existence of small Celtic groups among the northern Teutons.

Similar influences affected the Teutons from the south. The Lausitz culture had been active from the Middle

Bronze Age until the beginning of the Teutonic expansion. But from that time onwards the most powerful influence had been that of the Celts, whereby Hallstatt weapons and other bronzes reached the north. This influence coincides with an impoverishment of the Danish cemeteries at the end of the Nordic Bronze Age, a period of decay among Teutonic peoples in comparison with their brilliant Bronze Age civilization.⁸⁷ Then southward movements, indicated by the spread of Teutonic types of pottery, began and continued. Yet until the Harpstedt expansion, Celtic culture persisted in Westphalia, and succeeded in absorbing the immigrant Teutons, and influencing their culture. The transformation of the Wessenstedt culture was probably due to urnfield influence, which remained active also in the Jastorf groups of east Hanover and Brandenburg,⁸⁸ and perhaps the Harpstedt culture itself resulted from Celtic influences on a people of the Elbe frontier, settled in the Uelzen district. Like the Rhine later, the frontier districts west of the Weser formed a Celtic *Limes* for the Teutons, until by continuous infiltration they reached the Rhine-Lippe country and the central German Highland.⁸⁹

This long period brought also to the Teutons themselves many Celtic ideas and customs. As Hubert has shown, words for *king*, *ambassador*, *hostage*, *oath*, and others concerned with marriage, trade, administration, allegiance, and federation of tribes, are often of Celtic origin.

III. THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE CELTS IN SPAIN: A BRANCH OF THE HALLSTATT EVOLUTION

I. INTRODUCTION

We may now consider a great many Spanish finds of the First and Second Iron Ages as attributable to Celtic cultures belonging to the second wave of Celtic peoples, and different from urnfield cultures.

Hallstatt culture reached Spain with very various and in some ways archaic features, and it is difficult to reduce it

to unity. The finds are scattered in very distant places—the Ebro valley, the Table-land, and the Atlantic districts; and inadequate investigation makes it impossible to define the area of each cultural group.

At the end of the Hallstatt period, antenna-swords and daggers appear in Galicia and neighbouring districts, and in prov. Guadalajara. In connexion with these, in the Second Iron Age, a development of Hallstatt culture occurs, which is best described as 'post-Hallstatt' (p. 57); it is contemporary with what in other European countries is called the 'La Tène' culture. This does not exist as such in the Peninsula. In Spain, only stray types of La Tène fibulae and swords are scattered over this 'post-Hallstatt' territory, and also over areas of Iberian culture which are not Celtic at all. The most typical post-Hallstatt culture is developed in cemeteries on the Castilian table-land, and it seems to blend with the survivals of archaic Hallstatt culture, and to absorb them. It comes to an end in the third century B.C. In this phase, elements of the Iberian culture of the Ebro valley are introduced into the cemeteries and habitations of Castile, especially in the districts bordering on the Table-land. The culture of all this region is a blend of Celtic and Iberian, corresponding with the mixed character of its 'Celtiberian' population.

In Galicia and Portugal, the culture of the Second Iron Age is known mostly from hill-forts and other dwelling-places called 'castros' by Spanish and Portuguese writers. Only a few graves of this period have been found in the west.

2. GROUPS OF ARCHAIC HALLSTATT CHARACTER

(a) *Archaic Hallstatt culture of the Ebro valley: (α) El Redal graves in the Rioja.* In the upper Ebro valley the cemetery of El Redal in the district of La Rioja (prov. Logroño) has been excavated by Dr. Taracena, but is unpublished. Here incised patterns, and *Kerbschnitt*, appear on urns of developed urnfield forms, independent of those of Catalonia and the

south of France, and probably derived from some other centre of Hallstatt culture. With them are associated other urns, also of Hallstatt form but adorned with finger-printed bands: it is doubtful whether this decoration too comes from the old urnfield or Hallstatt culture, or from indigenous technique like that of Marlès (p. 13). For this, too, surviving from the neo-neolithic, seems to have been the basis of Iron Age culture in the Ebro valley and the Table-land.

(a. β) *Roquizal del Rullo culture in lower Aragon.* On the Aragonese Ebro, east of Saragossa, the Roquizal del Rullo culture (Pl. III *h, i*) results from another infiltration of archaic Hallstatt traditions into the indigenous culture of Iberian villages and graves in lower Aragon, which, like the Marlès type (Pl. II *a, b, d*), was based on survivals of eneolithic cave-culture, and on the simple stone architecture of the highland settlements, with rectangular houses (as in the old El Argar village of El Oficio in Almería) and small stone-built cist-graves in tumuli, such as are common in the El Argar culture. Near the Catalan border,⁹⁰ Catalan urnfield elements permeate this indigenous culture. Socketed axes of bronze are still in use, and at Roquizal bronze swords also. New Hallstatt elements reveal an advance in pot-form and decoration independent of urnfield tradition, especially in incised ornament, *Kerbschnitt*, stamped concentric circles, and pot-painting. There are also fire-dogs, like those of Hallstatt B and C on the Rhine, loom-weights which develop as in Rhenish-Hallstatt and La Tène; bronze fibulae, girdle-clasps, tweezers (*pincettes*), and bracelets.⁹¹ On the Catalan border of prov. Teruel, the oldest finds are the cist-graves of Barranc-de-Sant-Cristòfol (Mazaleón, Pl. III *g*), which have geometric polychrome pottery, with red and yellow squares, lozenges, and bands. These patterns, as well as the vase-forms, may be compared with the Koberstadt-Niedermockstatt ware of the middle Rhine (p. 24). The village-site of Las Escodinas Altas (Mazaleón, Pl. III *j*) represents a phase later than the urnfield infiltration, and belongs to the seventh century. The main finds

in the village-site of Sant-Cristòfol (Mazaleón; Pls. II l, III g) are of an advanced sixth-century phase.

(a. γ) *Survival and influence of Roquizal del Rullo and urn-field cultures in Aragon and Castellón.* Elements of the culture of Roquizal del Rullo survive into the later stages of culture in the Tossal-Redó settlement (Calaceite), in lower Aragon, with painted pottery (Pl. III k),⁹² not to be mistaken for normal Iberian painted-ware. Several cist-graves of the sixth century belong to the Tossal-Redó-Villallon phase; and the sixth-century village-site of Piuró del Barranc Fondo is transitional to normal Iberian culture. Even at Sant Antoni (Calaceite) there are still survivals of the blended culture of urnfield and archaic Hallstatt; and they persist in equivalent groups of urnfield culture in Catalonia. The sixth-century pottery of Sant-Cristòfol (Mazaleón, Pls. II l, III g) has some influence, too, in the neighbouring Maestrazgo, in the double cist-grave of Salzadella in the plain of Castellón, and in graves at Cabanes and Almazora; and Celtic influence appears in certain finds more or less affected by Iberian culture.⁹³ Some purely Celtic groups must have penetrated into the western hills of Castellón, and survived there.⁹⁴

(a. δ) *Distant groups in south-eastern Spain: Almeria.* In prov. Huesca, north of lower Aragon, there is another group of Catalan urnfields, at Las Valletes of Sena; and at Estiche a wheel-made vase with simple carved ornament recalling Roquizal del Rullo probably belongs to a post-Hallstatt grave.

Though not well known, this blend of archaic Hallstatt with older urnfield culture probably had great influence in eastern Aragon, till it was absorbed into the later Iberian civilization of the Second Iron Age. Here there were not only Celtic influences, but scattered Celtic immigrants, as is indicated by the name of *Octogesa* (Mequinenza). Unfortunately there has been no excavation here.

Even farther south some indirect influence may be admitted from Aragon-Castellón. In seventh-sixth century graves of indigenous First Iron Age containing imported

Phoenician amulets, ornaments of silver, and cornelian beads, the pottery has some urnfield forms and incised ornament related to the archaic Hallstatt of Aragon. The occurrence of cremation, also, may be attributed to blended urnfield and Hallstatt influence on the peoples of the east coast.⁹⁵

(b) *Archaic Hallstatt culture of the Castilian table-land.*
 (α) *Cogotas I; the 'Areneros' of Madrid.* In the lower stratum (I) of the great Celtic hill-fort of Las Cogotas near Cardenosa (prov. Avila), and in some of the oldest finds of its cemetery, we may detect a type of pottery with archaic Hallstatt traditions, better represented in the *Areneros* (sand-deposits) de Martinez and de Valdivia on the Manzanares river near Madrid (Pl. IV a-h). These finds, from the old Bento Collection, are now in the Barcelona Museum. To the same culture may belong the pottery of the hut-site at Villaverde and some of the finds representing the oldest Celtic culture of Numantia and of upper Soria. The forms, when complete, are of Hallstatt C-D types from the middle Rhine and Hesse; so, too, is the ornament of rich geometric patterns, incised or in *Kerbschnitt*: the incisions sometimes have a row of deeper punctures at the bottom, as if made with a toothed implement.⁹⁶ Zigzag strips outlined by very deep *Kerbschnitt*, in the corresponding context on the middle and lower Rhine, recall the deep conical dishes from graves at Las Cogotas, with a large star on the bottom and zigzag *Kerbschnitt* round it. This pottery has been compared with that of Roquizal del Rullo (Pl. III h, i); but though there is a certain resemblance, especially in some of the *Kerbschnitt* patterns, Roquizal seems independent, and is perhaps more archaic and more closely related to south German culture blended with Hallstatt B or late urnfield types.

(b. β) *The oldest finds of Numantia.* Related to Cogotas I and the *Areneros* is the oldest pottery of Celtic character in the Numantia district (Pl. IV i). In and around Numantia itself there is black ware, plain or with incision

or *Kerbschnitt*, such as the well-known type ornamented with small balls of copper or bronze. The two *pithoi* found by Professor Schulten at Molino in the circumvallation of Numantia⁹⁷ belong to the type with carved zigzag strips, though they have been wrongly supposed (like the vases with copper balls) to belong to the older 'beaker' pottery. Parallels to the Molino vases are the urn from Rosenthal on the lower Rhine (Cologne Museum) and the *Kerbschnitt* pottery of the mature urnfield culture on the lower Rhine. Other vases from Numantia, with small stamped concentric circles, may belong to this group.

The stratigraphical position of such pottery is not well established. It may be connected with the lower stratum detected by C. Koenen in some houses in the town of Numantia; from which, however, he only cites 'Hallstattian' plain ware. The vases from Numantia now in the Soria Museum belong to the first campaigns of the Spanish excavation, and the exact circumstances of their discovery are not recorded. They seem more or less closely related with those vessels from Numantia which represent the indigenous fabric, known also from the Ebro valley and associated with the Roquizal del Rullo culture; they are close to the Catalan Marlès type. We may imagine the complexity of the first Celtic culture of Numantia—a blend of indigenous Marlès with archaic Hallstatt related to Las Cogotas I.

(b. γ) *Hill-forts* ('castros') of the northern provinces, Soria and Logroño. In the northern part of Soria a group of hill-forts represent a Celtic culture connected with the oldest finds at Numantia, and certainly earlier than the normal post-Hallstatt 'Arevacian' culture of the third and second centuries (p. 66), though there is little that is typically Hallstatt. There are plain pottery and loom-weights,⁹⁸ a plain vase from Castillo de las Espinillas (Val-de-avellano de Tera), and some rough painted sherds from Castelfrío with hatched triangles and rectangles recalling Roquizal del Rullo. These finds are associated with Marlès pottery, and at Castelfrío

with post-Hallstatt spiral ornaments of bronze; so they may have gone on till very late.

The 'castro' culture seems to have been superseded violently in some places by the normal Arevacian: in the settlement of Castillejo de Fuensauco (prov. Soria) these strata are separated by a burnt layer.

(b. 2) *Non-Iberian origin of the painted pottery of Numantia.* It may be asked whether the oldest painted pottery of Numantia (which is polychrome, with broad red lines or bands on a white-painted surface, and geometric patterns), and also its birds and human figures, can be considered an evolution from Hallstatt painted pottery and be connected with the painted pottery of lower Aragon. In any case no related pottery is known in other Hallstatt or post-Hallstatt groups in the Peninsula, and it is impossible to explain its technique, either here or in lower Aragon, as due to the influence of Iberian painting. That influence is only perceptible in a later phase at Numantia, corresponding to the Arevacian and upper Table-land black-painted fabric, and then the suggestion comes from the third-century Iberian culture of Aragon.

3. LATE HALLSTATT FINDS

(a) *Cremation graves at Alpiarça in Portugal.* At Alpiarça in the Tagus (Tejo) valley, in the Santarem district of Portugal, cremation-graves have plain urns, some with very high rims recalling the poorest types of barrow-culture on the lower Rhine, Westphalia, and Holland, in the latest Hallstatt phase of urnfield culture. Others recall plain vases from the Areneros of Madrid, and the rough black ware of Numantia I. One solitary sherd has zigzag bands near the lip in horizontal zones bounded by parallel incisions: it has been compared with 'beaker' pottery, but probably we have in it something resembling the ornament of the Arenaros.

(b) *Antenna-swords and daggers of Hallstatt D.* There are various groups of metal objects, of a general Hallstatt

character, of which the circumstances of discovery are unknown: some of them may perhaps come from graves.

In Galicia and neighbouring districts, short antenna-swords and daggers of bronze or iron, of Hallstatt D types, form a completely closed group, mostly from dwellings or hill-forts.⁹⁹ Another antenna-sword, like the Galician, and not to be mistaken for a later post-Hallstatt type, was found at Aguilar de Anguita (prov. Guadalajara). Typologically these swords are the point of departure for the development of such weapons in the Second Iron Age, and this development is common to Spain and to southern France, where this type superseded those of La Tène I which are found in other Celtic territories, but not at all in the Peninsula.

(c) *Gold diadems of Rivadeo*. The Louvre possesses two gold diadems in repoussé work, actually found at Rivadeo (prov. Asturias), but falsely supposed to have been found at Cáceres (prov. Estremadura). Each has two zones decorated with a series of warriors armed with sword and round shield and some wearing a horned helmet; cavalry and infantry alternate with men carrying a couple of big cauldrons. The style of the men and of the horses is primitive and barbarous. One of the diadems has at one end a vertical zone of geometric ornament which seems to be of classical character, and in the horizontal border pieces of gold are applied to form a conventional flower. The human figures recall the representations on Hallstatt bronze *situlae*. Provisionally these diadems may be dated to the latest Hallstatt period (D).

(d) *Bronzes and gold objects of Estremadura and León*. The same date may be presumed for a bronze from Cabeza del Buey, near Almorchón (prov. Badajoz), a horseman armed with a lance, standing on a wheeled platform. It recalls Hallstatt bronzes from Austria. In Estremadura were found gold rings, with other rings or spirals hung on them: similar objects of bronze are known in east Hanover:¹⁰⁰ they have been supposed to be some form of primitive money. Also from Estremadura (Arellana la Vieja; prov. Badajoz) comes

a gold necklace with geometric decoration. From prov. León come two massive bronze objects, perhaps girdle-clasps.

(e) *Tartessian graves at Alcores.* Hallstatt ornaments are known from non-Celtic (Tartessian) graves in Andalusia. In the Alcores cemetery near Carmona, with late Phoenician combs, plaques of ivory, Carthaginian amulets and pottery, and Iberian painted pottery, appear Certosa fibulae (one of silver) and Hallstatt types of girdle-clasp, such as are found at Tossal-Redó (lower Aragon), in the later post-Hallstatt graves of Castile, and in the 'castro' of Santa Olalla in Figueira (Portugal). They may be of the sixth century, and show a connexion with the Celtic culture of the Sierra Morena. In the Second Iron Age of Andalusia, too, Celtic weapons such as post-Hallstatt swords are found in Iberian graves.

In the Alcores graves the form of burial may mark the influence of Celtic neighbours. They are cremation-pits, sometimes under big barrows.

4. POST-HALLSTATT CULTURE IN PORTUGAL AND WESTERN SPAIN

(a) *Post-Hallstatt cemetery of Alcacer-do-Sal (Portugal).* Cremation-graves were found on this site, near the mouth of the Sado. From their contents, iron weapons were preserved, together with Attic *craters* of the Kertsch style, of the fifth and fourth centuries. There were lances and swords—both falcate and post-Hallstatt antenna-types. The latter have silver inlays in the hilt. They are of the developed intermediate types of central Spain, and might be dated in the fourth century. They have been compared by Cabré with the swords of La Osera, and are placed in his series between types 2 and 3, corresponding with our type D (p. 65).

The Alcacer-do-Sal graves seem to have been set in a stratum overlying earlier pre-Celtic remains; among the latter is an Egyptian scarab of the Saïte King Psammetichus I,

of the seventh century. Urns have not been found at Alcacer-do-Sal, but some painted Iberian pottery from this site is in the collection of Professor Vergilio Correia. It resembles what is common in the 'castro' culture of southern and central Portugal,¹⁰¹ and is an importation from Andalusia.

(b) *The 'Castro' culture of southern and central Portugal.* Here many dwelling-places are known, frequently in 'castro' hill-forts. Regular excavations carried on by J. dos Santos Rocha in the 'castros' of Santa Olalla, O Crasto, and Chões, near Figueira da Foz, have revealed houses constructed in stone on a rectangular plan, in contrast with the 'castros' of north Portugal and Galicia where round houses predominate. The pottery is of Celtic character, and its hand-made forms are a late development from urn-field pottery, and recall the latest forms in the graves of lower Aragon, and the post-Hallstatt vases of central Spain. Among the bronzes are post-Hallstatt fibulae, and girdle-clasps, like the post-Hallstatt types of Alcores, Tossal-Redó, and Castilian sites. Pottery of Iberian type seems usual in central and southern Portugal—large oval or spherical jars with horizontal bands in red, related to Andalusian types. There is clear evidence of intercourse with the Tartessian districts of southern Spain, by way of the lower Guadalquivir, and through Alemtejo to the mouth of the Sado and the west coast of Portugal.

(c) *The 'Castro' and 'Citania' culture of northern Portugal and Galicia.* North of the Mondego begins a new province of the 'castro' culture, which includes also Spanish Galicia. The 'castros' preserve, very pure, the forms of the *Ringwälle* of Central Europe, and the French, British, and Irish 'hill-forts'. Besides primitive and simple 'hill-forts', some are real towns, with monumental remains.¹⁰² These more monumental dwelling-places are generally called by the Portuguese word *citania*, to distinguish them from the simple *castro*. In the *citancias*, houses are generally round, with roof supported by a central pillar. They are arranged along streets crossing the hill. The general plan of the town is

that of an oval 'hill-fort' with defensive walls. Door-lintels of houses are sometimes decorated with patterns recalling La Tène designs, e.g. in the *citania* of Briteiros the so-called *pedras formosas* reproducing a hut-front formed the entrances of grave-chambers. These chamber-graves of Briteiros have, at present, no parallels: the graves of this culture are generally small tumuli (*mamoas*).

At Troña there is a rock-carving of a snake, probably a cult-symbol, which is related to popular traditions of snake-worship, common in northern Portugal and Galicia. Such a cult may be attributed to the Celts, and connected with the name of the Celtic *Sefes* and of *Ophioussa* (p. 71), but it may also be indigenous, since snakes are represented in pre-Celtic sculptures.

Finds are generally scarce. Fibulae are of post-Hallstatt 'high-foot' and 'ring-fibula' types. The pottery differs from that of central and southern Portugal; it is hand-made, with incised or stamped decoration. Incised horizontal lines form zones filled with rows of cross-hatched triangles, zigzag bands, wavy lines, and rows of SSSSS which have been compared with conventionalized ducks, and appear on 'hill-fort' pottery in other Celtic countries.¹⁰³ The stamped patterns are mostly small concentric circles. Simple triangles are also cut in *Kerbschnitt*. Unfortunately complete vases are scarce; a vase from C. Sendim at Felgueiras (prov. Entre-Douro-e-Minho) has stamped circles and incised triangles.

In connexion with the 'castro' culture of north Portugal are some hoards of ornaments, mostly torques of gold or silver. Some of them may have been found in graves under the small tumuli (*mamoas*) which are frequent in those districts, but were mostly plundered a long time ago. The exploration of *mamoas* in search of precious metals is mentioned in sixteenth-century records. There is no evidence for a precise date for the 'castro' culture; the fibulae point to a post-Hallstatt date, and in Galicia and north Portugal some 'castros' may have been still inhabited in Roman times. The same difficulty is presented by the

hoards and torques, as it is difficult to connect them with other finds in the Celtic world. In general, they may represent a local goldsmith-industry working on Celtic traditions, perhaps under classical influence, as is shown by some of the filigree decoration of the torques. In the Lebuçao hoard some patterns on the jewellery seem to be related to La Tène.¹⁰⁴ That classical influence could have reached Galician gold-work is not impossible, since the same influence may be observed in the Rivadeo diadems (p. 56), and in the Celtic districts of central Spain: among the jewellery in the Phoenician hoard of La Aliseda (prov. Cáceres: vi-v centt.) some of the bracelets show clear Greek influence. La Tène influence was made possible by direct commerce by sea to the Breton coast and to Britain. In any case, it is not necessary to imagine direct migrations to or from Spain, to explain resemblances between Galician or Portuguese finds and Breton or British. The common origin of both the Celtic populations provided a basis for cultural developments. At the same time, the commerce attested by the *Periplus* between southern and western Spain, Brittany, Ireland, and possibly Britain, permitted mutual intercourse and cultural influence.

(d) *The 'Castro' culture of Asturias, León, Zamora, Salamanca, and Estremadura.* Though excavation of Celtic sites has been rare in these provinces, many 'castros' are known in the hinterland of the 'castro' culture of Portugal and Galicia. In Asturias, excavation at C. de Caravias yielded pottery decorated like the Galician, and an iron sword connected with those in northern Spain. In León, Zamora, Salamanca, and Estremadura 'castros' are frequent; some were of the simplest types, others were great towns with stone walls and houses. Some of the largest modern towns of these districts owe their origin to a Celtic 'castro'.¹⁰⁵ As already noted (pp. 50 ff.) some finds of a general Hallstatt character from these districts may represent the initial stage of their Celtic culture. Asturias and León may have possessed a culture related to Galicia and north Portugal,

as is shown by the torques found at Astorga and by the pottery of the Caravias 'castro'. But without excavation it is impossible to delimit regional differences.

(e) *The stone sculptures of Portugal.* Stone figures of warriors armed with helmet and round shield, and boar-sculptures such as the *berracos* of central Spain, occur in Portugal also. They are mostly pre-Roman, like their relatives in Spain. The warriors have been called *guerreiros lusitanos*; but their relation with Lusitanians is not evident, and they are more probably a manifestation of Celtic pre-Roman sculpture like the decorated stones of the *citánias*, and the boar-sculptures of Spain which are certainly connected with the Celtic dwelling-places of Las Cogotas and La Villa de Solosancho. The geographical distribution of the *guerreiros* shows that they are connected with the north group of 'castro' culture.¹⁰⁶ The *guerreiros* of Crasto de Lasenho are decorated with patterns resembling the relief-sculptures of Sabroso; one of them has a post-Hallstatt dagger with double-globular hilt. The boar-sculptures seem to be limited to Traz-os-Montes, Entre-Douro-e-Minho, and upper Beira,¹⁰⁷ and are thus geographically connected with the *Vettones* of Spain. In Ávila and Salamanca provinces there are great 'hill-forts': La Villa (Solosancho) resembling Las Cogotas (see below) and Cerro del Berrueco (El Teiado) on the Salamanca-Ávila boundary.

5. LAS COGOTAS AND ITS CULTURES I, II, III

Of these 'hill-forts', the best known and most important is Las Cogotas, thanks to the methodical excavations of Sr. Cabré, the numerous finds, and the connexion between the settlement and the cemetery of cremation-graves. Las Cogotas is a huge 'castro' with earthen walls; near it is a vast enclosure for cattle, and here a stone *berraco* was found, supposed to represent a deity connected with cattle-breeding. The houses are rectangular, but are very irregularly distributed within the area enclosed by the wall.

The finds (Pl. V) seem clearly to represent a long occupa-

tion through different periods, though no distinct stratification could be observed. A small group of aeneolithic objects represents the first settlement, with pottery of advanced cave-culture type and flat celts of copper like those of Cerro del Berrueco and the caves of Estremadura and Segovia. The Celtic cultures begin with pottery of archaic Hallstatt character which we have already distinguished (p. 53) as 'Cogotas I'. The main group of pottery constitutes what we may call 'Cogotas II'. The last group, 'Cogotas III', must be contemporary with the principal types of weapons and fibulae, and is closely related to the normal post-Hallstatt culture of the north Castilian Tableland, the territory of the *Vaccae* and *Arevaci*.

The pottery of 'Cogotas II' differs from other Spanish groups of Celtic ware, and especially from the post-Hallstatt pottery of Castile. It is hand-made; its forms are evolved independently from late Hallstatt forms; and its decoration shows some connexion with the Late Hallstatt of Eifel-Hunsrück, middle Rhine, and Hesse, and especially with the Melsungen-Molzbach graves in Hesse.¹⁰⁸ Some parallels may even be found in the Nienburg culture of Hanover. Within the Peninsula, the only connexion is with the oldest pottery of Numantia, and with the 'castro' culture of north Portugal and Galicia, in the form of a vase from Sendim, the conventional duck-ornament and other stamped and incised patterns (p. 59). Peculiar features are the rich incised ornament, which develops a complete series of geometric designs, including sun and stars; and the decoration with applied balls of pottery and of amber.

In 'Cogotas III' the pot-forms are more simple (Pl. V *u-z*), decoration is rare, and both are close to the post-Hallstatt ware of Celtiberian cemeteries. Wheel-made pottery is frequent and some vases are painted with ordinary geometric Iberian patterns, as in the Vaccaean and Celtiberian districts. Occasional vases have painted warriors in the late Celtiberian black-painted style of the second century.

Weapons include frequent iron swords with degenerate *antennae* belonging to the late 'type D' of the third century (p. 65); some are of the special north Spanish form, known as the Monte Bernorio, Alar del Rey, or Miraveche type; and there are daggers with double-disk hilts (*puñal doble-globular*) and related forms. Some of the hilts and scabbards have silver inlay.

Other bronze ornaments are girdle-clasps of the latest 'plate-types' from Celtiberian cemeteries, normal post-Hallstatt 'ring-fibulae' and 'horse (and horseman) fibulae', and La Tène fibulae scarce in period I and numerous in II. Though it is difficult to establish the relation of these weapons and personal ornaments to the successive phases of Las Cogotas culture, most of them are of the post-Hallstatt (Vaccaean) culture of 'Cogotas III'. The cemetery, too, can be connected with 'Cogotas III' through its degenerate antenna-swords of type D: compare the Monte Bernorio swords of La Osera (Chamartin de la Sierra).

The changes in the pottery, represented by 'Cogotas III', may well be ascribed to the southward advance of the *Vaccaeii* with normal Castilian post-Hallstatt culture, conquering the district in the third century. 'Cogotas II' would then be connected with the tribes of north Portugal and Galicia. The geographical extension of this culture is not yet completely known. It reappears at La Villa (Solanco, prov. Ávila) and El Berrueco (prov. Salamanca). The boar-sculptures connect it with the southern provinces—Ávila, Segovia, Zamora, Salamanca, Cáceres, with the western province of Toledo (accessible from Estremadura), and with northern and eastern Portugal, where *berracos* (boar-sculptures) and *bichas* (oxen-sculptures) are frequent. The best-known are the Toros de Guisando (Ávila), a series of figures placed at regular distances, perhaps the cult-images of an open-air sanctuary.¹⁰⁹ The culture-area of 'Cogotas II' thus corresponds more or less with the widest extension of the *Vettones*.

6. POST-HALLSTATT CULTURE OF CASTILE AND RELATED DISTRICTS

(a) *Post-Hallstatt cemeteries of prov. Soria and Guadalajara: Typology and Chronology.* These form a compact group and seem to represent a very pure Celtic civilization, belonging to the *Arevaci* of southern Soria and northern Guadalajara (p. 69), and to the *Belli* and *Titti*, related tribes in the Jalón valley.

The graves are cremation-burials, in urns accompanied by other vases and surrounded by the weapons and ornaments of the dead. Spindle-whorls and small clay balls are also found in the graves, which are marked by a rough *stele* of stone.¹¹⁰

The greatest interest is aroused by the iron weapons and implements—swords, daggers (frequently curved), lances, javelins (*soliferrea* and *pila*), and horse-bits. The bronze ornaments include breastplates, spiral wire ornaments, girdle-clasps, bracelets, ear-rings (some of silver at Mercadera), and fibulae. The curved sabres (*falcatae*, Gk. μάχαραι) have been supposed to be of Mediterranean origin, but are also held to be a Celtic development from the Hallstatt curved knife (*Hiebmesser*) which was made on the outskirts of the Hallstatt world at the end of the First Iron Age, or the beginning of the Second. Other swords are straight, with parallel cutting-edges and globular handle, a type rare in Celtic territories but more frequent in Iberian countries to the south. The most frequent and typical are fully developed Celtic antenna-swords and daggers; sometimes there occurs also the north Spanish Monte Bernorio type of sword and dagger (p. 67); and sometimes La Tène II swords are associated with the later antenna-types.

The typology of antenna-swords in Spain (Pl. VI *a-c*) begins with (a) the 'antennae' projecting straight out of the hilt; it is immediately derived from the Hallstatt 'horse-shoe' dagger, and is found only sporadically except in the cemetery at Aguilar de Anguita. *Types* (b), with short

antennae, and (c), with degenerate antennae, continue the sequence, and lead to the final *type* (d)—not figured in Pl. VI—in which only a pair of balls emerge from the hilt.

The fibulae are: (a) of the post-Hallstatt 'high-footed' type, a development from Hallstatt D types connected with the Certosa type and others, and found associated with Hallstatt D types at Tossal-Redó in Lower Aragon; (b) of the 'ring-fibula' type; (c) of very late La Tène I types, rarely, in the latest cemetery of this group (iv–iii centt. = end of La Tène B); (d) many, of La Tène II, are found associated with antenna-swords of types (c) and (d) in these latest graves.

In the girdle-clasps, too, there is a series of development: (a) the Hallstatt type, with a single hook emerging from a triangular end-plate, is found rarely at Acebuchal (Carmona), Tossal-Redó (Lower Aragon), and Figueira da Foz (Portugal); (b) derivatives of this, and late types with three or rarely with five hooks, are found together in the cemeteries where antenna-swords (c) and (d) and La Tène fibulae occur; (c) a third type, cut from a bronze plate, often with silver inlays, is associated at Sant Antoni de Calaceite (third century) with La Tène fibulae, and also with some Iberian ones; (d) at Arcóbriga are peculiar types in bronze ornamented with conventionalized horses.

Post-Hallstatt pottery is simple, and mostly plain, with very degenerate Hallstatt forms, among them a globular urn. Hand-made ware is soon superseded by wheel-made, which, with some simple geometric painting,¹¹¹ indicates Iberian influence from the Ebro valley. At Osma only, there are painted birds, alternating with 'cut-heads', a typically Celtic ornament. The introduction of painted ornament seems to be contemporary with the La Tène fibulae and swords: it is the beginning of 'Celtiberian' vase-painting, as known in the settlements of the *Arevaci*. Exceptionally rich in vase-painting is the cemetery of Belmonte (Calatayud) in the territory of the *Lusones*, and on their frontier with the Iberian *Edetani*: here the vases have

post-Hallstatt forms, but their decoration is connected with the most classical patterns of the Ebro-Azaila group of Iberian ware.

(b) *Chronology of the post-Hallstatt culture.* From these associations a general chronology results, and the following sequence of graves and cemeteries seems probable:

- | | |
|---------------|---|
| PERIOD I. | (a) Some early graves of Aguilar de Anguita. |
| v-iv centt. | (b) <i>First half of iv cent.:</i> |
| No La Tène | Aguilar de Anguita, Olmeda, Clares, Quintenas de Gormas (Pl. VI a, b), Cerropozzo of |
| Antennae a, b | Atienza (grave 9), La Mercadera (part) in Rioseco de Calatañazor. |
| PERIOD II. | (a) <i>Second half of iv cent. and beginning of iii:</i> |
| iv-iii centt. | Alpanseque, Atance, Higes, La Requijada de |
| La Tène I b | Gormaz, Cerropozzo (main group of graves); |
| La Tène II | perhaps too Valdenovillos, Turmiel, Molino de |
| Antennae c, d | Benjamín, Luzaga, La Mercadera (part). |
| | (b) <i>Main part of iii cent.:</i> |
| | Arcóbriga, Osma, Cerropozzo (grave 16), La Mercadera (some graves); perhaps Ciruelos. |

This chronology is confirmed by the rare presence of Hellenistic black-glazed 'Campanian' pottery in the latest group of cemeteries.

The majority of the post-Hallstatt finds in Castile and related districts belong to Period II (iv-iii centt.), which was probably the time of the greatest extension of the *Arevaci*. Finds of Period I are rarer: in its beginnings it is represented by only antenna-swords of type (a), from graves at Aguilar de Anguita. This perhaps corresponds with improved conditions some while after the occupation, and shows that the actual colonization of the Celtiberian districts by the *Belli* and *Arevaci* began during the fourth century, and culminated during the third. Then, too, begins the culture of the Celtiberian towns, which continues during the second century, and is a blend of Celtic and Iberian, as is shown in the finds at Numantia down to its destruction in 133 B.C.

Settlements contemporary with the post-Hallstatt cemeteries are not yet known, except at Numantia.

(c) *The northern group of post-Hallstatt culture.* This is represented in the graves at Echaur (Navarre), from which some iron weapons, including an antenna-sword of type (b), are in the museum of Pamplona; in the graves of Monte Bernorio and Miraveche, with a characteristic type of dagger (p. 64, Pl. VI g); by stray finds of bronze from La Bureba, and by a dagger of Monte Bernorio type from Villegas (Villadiego); all in the north of prov. Burgos.

Monte Bernorio is near Alar del Rey, in the northern hills of prov. Burgos, where the town of Vellica probably belonged to the Cantabrian *Vellegienses*. The graves contain post-Hallstatt fibulae, girdle-clasps, and characteristic daggers, of post-Hallstatt derivation but without antennae. Their hilt has a broad horizontal end, and the chape or ferrule of the scabbard a characteristic termination with four disks: the whole scabbard is decorated with rich silver inlays, with geometrical ornament. This Monte Bernorio type of dagger occurs in the Miraveche grave, also in upper Burgos, but in the Bureba valley which was in the territory of the *Turmodigi*. At Miraveche appear, too, an ox-shaped fibula, a girdle-clasp of the bronze-plate type (p. 65; also among the stray finds of Bureba), and a ritual sceptre with conventionalized ducks, which has parallels in the cemeteries of prov. Soria and Guadalajara (p. 59).

The Monte Bernorio dagger is not confined to this group: it appears, though more rarely than the antenna-swords, in the Soria-Guadalajara cemeteries (pp. 54-6) and in graves of the Las Cogotas III culture, where some examples have two disks on the transverse part of the hilt, perhaps imitating degenerate antennae.

(d) *Finds in the upper Table-land in the territory of the Vaccaeii.* Here regular excavations have not been made, but stray finds from various places in prov. Palencia, Valladolid, and Segovia are preserved in museums—post-Hallstatt fibulae, of all known types, especially the 'horseman'-fibulae,

girdle-clasps with triple hooks, and some painted vases. The 'horseman'-fibulae (p. 63), some of the girdle-clasps, and perhaps some vases of post-Hallstatt form with simple black-painted decoration, probably came from a cemetery at Pallantia (prov. Palencia) which was the capital of the *Vaccaei*.

In the south of this region, Iberian painted pottery is known from the settlement at La Erijüela Cuéllar (Segovia): it may be connected with the painted pottery of Las Cogotas III, and shows the continuance of Iberian influence, which is frequent in the advanced stages of Celtiberian culture.

(e) *Celtiberian settlements and the advanced culture of Numantia.*

At the close of the post-Hallstatt development, some of its elements—fibulae, antenna-swords of type (d), and its pottery—survive in the mixed Celtiberian culture represented by settlements in the plain of prov. Soria, west and south of Numantia, as well as in the oldest group of archaic 'castros' of Soria and Logroño. But here Iberian influence from the Ebro valley is evident in the technique of the stone buildings, which recalls the Iberian villages, and also in the increase of painted ornament. The pottery is of a typical Celtiberian-Numantine style, painted in black. This mixed Celtiberian culture extends through the district of the *Pelendones* in eastern Soria to the eastern slopes of the Moncayo, on the margin of the Ebro valley, where Numantine pottery painted in black is found in the settlement of Beruela (prov. Saragossa), together with Ebro-Iberian pottery in red and some objects of La Tène II period. The flourishing period of this Celtiberian culture—at Calatañazor, Izana, Ocenilla—was in the second century, contemporary with the great days of Numantia. But some groups of finds take us back to the end of the third century: an antenna-dagger of type (d) is associated with La Tène fibulae at Calatañazor. This is a survival, following the fall of Numantia, through the last years of the second century, and the earlier part of the first, possibly until the Sertorian War.¹¹² The poorer Numantine pottery is asso-

ciated with La Tène III fibulae, with Iberian coins of *Toletum* (beginning of i cent.) at Izana, and with Roman republican coins at Calatañazor, Langa, and Suellacabras. The pottery at Langa seems to be transitional towards the Celtiberian pottery of Roman imperial times, the so-called 'Clunia-Arcobriga' type.¹¹³

The *Arevaci* seem to have reached their widest territorial extension in the third and second centuries, when they held Numantia; and there is Numantine pottery in the upper stratum of Castillejo de Fuensauco, in the Soria plain, above a burnt layer belonging to the old 'castro' culture (p. 58). The Celtiberian culture extends its influence to the 'castros' of the territory of the *Pelendones*.¹¹⁴ For the geographical extent of Celtiberian-Arevacian culture it is interesting that Ocenilla, with a purely Arevacian culture, lies on the border of the Soria plain, in the passes of the Sierra de Fuentes—an advanced fortified post watching the hills—and that at Taniñe, near the old 'castro', is a village in the Arevacian stone-technique, with Numantine painted ware only.

These conclusions were made possible by the methodical exploration of the Soria and Logroño country by Dr. B. Taracena. For Numantia, it is difficult to obtain an exact chronology: since it is only the sketches made by K. Koenen during Schulten's short excavation that give some evidence for the stratigraphy of the rough earlier pottery, probably belonging to Numantia I, and contemporary with Las Cogotas I and the beginning of the Pelendonian 'castros'.

Taracena has also shown that the painted pottery begins with the polychrome style—which we have supposed (p. 55) to be of archaic Hallstatt tradition—and passes, through an intermediate half-polychrome phase, into the black-painted Celtiberian pottery of Numantia, akin to the Celtiberian ware of Arevacian settlements.

We can therefore date the black-painted ware with Iberian patterns—concentric circles, wavy lines, warriors and conventionalized horses and oxen, in a very typical and

barbaric style—between the end of the third century and the fall of Numantia in 133 B.C. To this period belong the dagger with 'double-globular' hilt, some late La Tène II fibulae, and late hellenistic black-glazed ware.

Some genuinely post-Hallstatt vases, such as the pottery of the post-Hallstatt cemeteries of southern Soria and Guadalajara, may belong to post-Hallstatt II, and to the fourth or third centuries. The Pelendonian culture of Numantia I may belong to the fifth or fourth centuries, but some of its features may have persisted, and blended with the culture of the invading *Arevaci*.

The polychrome pottery, though conforming to the archaic Hallstatt tradition, cannot be dated earlier than the latter part of the third century, as there is great resemblance between its scenes and style and those of the black-painted ware; and Taracena has shown that some of its forms are akin to post-Hallstatt types. The black-painted ware, its descendant in the new technique, may belong to the first half of the third century.

IV. RECONSTRUCTION OF THE COURSE OF THE SECOND CELTIC WAVE IN SPAIN

I. INTRODUCTION

(a) *Historical and philological evidence.* Historical sources do not mention the First Celtic Wave or urnfield invasion; but the peoples of the Second Celtic Wave, in the Hallstatt period, have left quite definite records in ancient literature. Through these, and through philological remains, Celts are known to have lived in the Central Table-land, especially in the 'Meseta' of northern Castile, in Estremadura, in Galicia, and in Portugal. It may be inferred that they penetrated also into Andalusia, into northern Spain from Asturias to the Basque countries, and also into some parts of the east coast.

As early as the first half of the sixth century the Massiliote *Periplus* mentions the *Cempsi* in Portugal and Estremadura, the *Sefes* on the Portuguese coast, and the *Berybraces* in the

hills west of Valencia (p. 2). It mentions also Cape *Aryium*, *Aruion*, or *Arubion*,¹¹⁵ which may indicate the *Artabri* or *Arotrebae*, the 'extreme inhabitants' of Galicia. The Berybraces certainly have a Celtic name and may be the 'beaver' tribe; the same stem occurs in the *Bebryces* of the eastern Pyrenees (pp. 39-41), *Bibroci* of Britain, the Irish *Bibraige*, and *Bibracte* the Aeduan town. With the Cempsí we compare Strabo's Καμψιανοί in Germany between the Chauci and the Cimbri (vii. 13; cf. p. 44). The *Sefes* have been explained as a corruption of Greek σήπες, 'snakes', and connected with the Phocæan name Ὀφιοῦσσα, 'snake-land', for the west of the Peninsula. The *Periplus* states that the native *Oestrimni* had been expelled by an invasion of snakes, i.e. by Celtic invaders who had the snake for their emblem, as the Berybraces had the beaver. The snake has a great role in the Celtic folk-lore of Portugal and of Galicia, and is carved on stones in the 'castros'.

The *Periplus*, then, is the first witness to Celts in the Peninsula in the sixth century. The next is Herodotus, who gives Celts (Κελτοί) as the farthest people (ii. 33, or one of the farthest, iv. 49) in the west, and as neighbours of the Kynetes (Κυνήσιοι ii. 33, Κύνητες iv. 49): if these are the *Conii* mentioned by the *Periplus* and other sources, on the Algarve in southern Portugal, the home of such Celts is where the *Periplus* places the *Cempsí*.

Later—and long before Spain was known as Iberia—the Peninsula was named Κελτική, until the third century. The earlier sources only describe the coasts, or speak vaguely of the inland peoples; but Livy (xxii. 23) names Celtiberians—mixed Celts and Iberians—as living in 218 B.C. on the eastern border of the Castilian Plateau. By records of the wars between Rome and Carthage, and of the Roman domination, we can fill in the map of Spanish peoples and recognize other Celtic tribes, including *Celtici*, in the home of the Κελτοί of Herodotus.

It is especially interesting that the Celts of Galicia are called *Callaeci* (more correctly *Gallaeci* and *Gallaecia* in the

indigenous spelling reestablished, as it seems, by St. Isidore); we may compare the Carpathian Galicia, similarly named from the *Galli*. Roman sources and ancient and modern place-names testify to *Galli* in Aragon.¹¹⁶ To these historical witnesses may be added many Celtic place-names, ancient and modern;¹¹⁷ cult-names¹¹⁸ in the Roman period; and names of persons;¹¹⁹ and as in France (p. 16) we find landmarks delimiting the frontiers of Celtic tribes.¹²⁰

(b) *Historical records of Teutonic elements in Celtic Spain.* Indications of Teutons in connexion with Celts in Spain begin in pre-Roman times. Eduard Norden (p. 118) and Schulten (p. 126) supposed the *Germani* of *Oretum Germanorum* (Pliny, *N.H.* iii. 25), north of the Sierra Morena, to be a Teutonic people who arrived with the Celtic invaders; Schulten also admits as possible a Teutonic origin for the *Cempsi*. A Teutonic element may also be reconstructed from names in Roman inscriptions. In the district of Cadiz there was a person called *Cembricensis*, which points to his birth in a town *Cembricum* ('of the Cimbrians'); and in Galicia an inscription mentions the *dea Poemana*, who may be the eponym of a group of Teutonic *Poemani* (cf. the *Poemani* of Belgium, p. 45) forwandered among Celtic tribes. The names of *Ebura* (Evora) in the country of the *Cempsi* in Alemtejo, and *Eburobrittium* (another Evora) north of Lisbon, in that of the *Sefes*, may be connected with the *Eburones* of the lower Meuse. The supposition that Teutonic elements arriving in Spain with the Celts were the vanguard of the Teutonic immigrants and followed the peoples they displaced—as the Alani came to Spain later with the Teutonic Suebi and Vandals—suggests that this second wave of Celts originated on the lower Rhine, and was caused by pressure from the peoples of the North German Plain; for the Cimbri of Denmark also had mingled with the Celts who arrived in Spain; and the names of the Spanish *Belli* and *Vaccaei* recall the Belgic *Bello-vaci*.¹²¹

(c) *Chronology of the three groups of Hallstatt invaders.* Comparing now the historical and philological evidence with

the archaeological, we obtain a satisfactory reconstruction of the Second Celtic Wave of immigration into Spain.

Archaeological proof of the complexity of the Spanish Celts reveals three different groups in accordance with historical statements: (1) the peoples connected with the *Cemps* very soon reached the extreme south of the Peninsula; they include the Pelendones and other peoples of archaic Hallstatt traditions; (2) the *Sefes* of Portugal and Galicia, connected with Late Hallstatt groups in eastern France and with the Eifel-Hunsrück culture of Germany; (3) Belgic peoples from Belgium and north-eastern France, pressing the *Sefes* and *Berybraces* onwards into the far south and west. Invasions (1) and (2) had been effected before 550 B.C., Schulten's date for the *Periplus*. The Belgic invasion (3) cannot have been much later as its culture is still derived from Hallstatt sources. Thus the archaic Hallstatt elements may have arrived late in the seventh century; the *Sefes*-Galli-Turones, with Eifel-Hunsrück culture, about 600 B.C.; and the groups with Hallstatt D culture early in the sixth century.

(d) *Spain had no La Tène invasion.* Though Hubert and Pokorny¹²² think that the Belgic invasion must be dated late in Middle La Tène time, because some La Tène influence is perceptible in Spanish archaeology, there is (as already noted, p. 50) no distinct La Tène culture in Spain. The La Tène swords and fibulae scattered all over the Peninsula, not only in Celtic territories but also in Iberian, are sufficiently explained by cultural intercourse. In adjacent districts of south-eastern France, it is true, the *Volcae Tectosages* had introduced La Tène culture, and from that time onward, and perhaps even earlier, swords, shield-bosses, and fibulae had been introduced by commercial traffic into the cemetery of Cabrera de Mataró, the Iberian villages of Tossal de las Tenalles at Sidamunt near Lérida, and Puig Castellar; swords, fibulae, and La Tène pottery, into the Greek colony of Emporion; and other objects into the Iberian culture of Sant Antoni de Calaceite (Aragon) and into the farthest Iberian and Tartessian districts of

eastern and southern Spain. It is therefore unnecessary to suppose a new invasion to explain La Tène objects in Celtiberian cemeteries and dwelling-places.¹²³

In France, also, there is no evidence that Belgic migrations spread southwards, beyond Champagne, even if they brought new tribes into Britain and northern France. The *Volcae* and other new Celtic tribes in the Rhône valley and south-eastern France came not from Belgium but from central Germany, and were probably connected with the new Teutonic pressure in Hesse and on the middle Rhine; for there the Celtic peoples failed to defeat the persistent Teutonic efforts to settle in Celtic districts. It is this new Teutonic pressure, to which are related the 'hill-forts' from the Vogelsberg and the Rhön eastwards, to Steinberg near Römhild, and in the south of the Thüringerwald between Meiningen and Coburg, where the Celts of the mountain districts seem to have resisted from about 300 B.C. till after 100 B.C. But at the same time the Suebic peoples from the Elbe and Thuringia, after forcing the Eisenach pass of the Thüringerwald, were advancing into Hesse and the Wetterau, pushing other Teutonic tribes of the Lahn district before them. The most important representatives of the expelled Celts were the *Volcae*, whose name the Teutons applied as a general denomination for all Celts (*Wälsche: Welsh*). On the Rhine, Teutons penetrated, in Middle La Tène times, into the Eifel, and the Moselle and Saar country of the *Treviri*, and also into Belgium,¹²⁴ and some groups of them had already been established there and farther afield by the sixth-century movement, e.g. there were Poemani among the tribes of Galicia, as well as in Belgium (p. 45). It was this pressure on the Rhine, as we have seen (p. 46), that caused the movement of the Belgae to Britain; but it caused no movement to the south.

2. THE COMING OF THE CEMPSI AFTER 650 B.C.

(a) *Cempsî in south Portugal and Spanish Estremadura: their attempt to penetrate into Tartessian country.* Not much later than

650 B.C. Cimbri, Germani, and Cempsí left Westphalia and reached Estremadura and Alemtejo. Thence they spread in several directions. The *Cempsí*, moving west of the Tagus valley, by the Alpiarça cemetery, soon reached the coast and the lower Sado, which was their boundary with the Cynetes at the time of the *Periplus*. They also tried to advance through the mountain-border of Badajoz and Huelva provinces, where they persisted till Roman times under the name *Celtici*. They attempted to occupy the coast in the Rio Tinto country, but failed to hold it, though they established themselves temporarily in the estuaries of the Tinto and the Odiel, where their last bulwark was the island of Cartare (Saltés) until a short time before the *Periplus*.

Another group of Cempsí came to the plain of Seville. A small group of Celts at Hasta-Salpensa, and of Cimbri at Cembricum (p. 72) near Cadiz, settled south of it, but the main body was probably forced by the Tartessians to move south-eastward, and were lost about Cartama, Acinippo, and Arunda, in the mountains behind Malaga. We have to imagine Andalusia as infested by groups of raiders, profiting by moments of surprise, like the later Lusitanian raiders, and holding strong positions without dominating the country; while the Tartessians, reorganizing their defences, prevented reinforcement.

(b) *Germani penetrating the Sierra Morena*. In Estremadura the farthest invaders, among whom were the *Germani*, struck the passes leading towards Ciudad Real and established themselves in the fortress of *Mirobriga* (Capilla) and in their advanced post *Oretum Germanorum* (Santa Maria de Oreto near Granatula, west of Valdepeñas) on the east side of the hills, in the Oretanian territory of the Sierra Morena and upper Andalusia. The presence of Celts in the Badajoz country is indicated by the bronze horseman of Cabeza del Buey. From the south-east of Badajoz province they attempted to reach the Guadalquivir, through Fuente Ovejuna, Villanueva del Duque, Pozoblanco, and the Valle de los Pedroches in the direction of Córdoba. Their boundary

is marked by a later inscription found at Villanueva de Córdoba: *Trifinium inter Sacilienses, Eporenses, et Solienses*.¹²⁵

(c) *Cultural relations with the Tartessians*. The Celts probably dominated part of the mining district of the central Sierra Morena.¹²⁶ This may explain cultural relations with the Tartessian peoples of upper Andalusia, especially the resemblances with the Cabeza del Buey bronze, Hallstatt bronzes, and many of the votive figures of the Iberian sanctuaries of Despeñaperros and Castellan de Santesteban; the Certosa fibulae in the graves of the Alcores of Carmona; the Celtic weapons in the Andalusian cemeteries, and the relations of Tartessian culture with the Celtic of Portugal. After the stabilization of the frontiers during the sixth and fifth centuries, the old trade-route in the *Periplus*, from Tartessos, through the Guadiana and the Algarve, to the Sado estuary and Lisbon, may have been the path of such influence into Portugal.

(d) *Pelendones and Berybraces: archaic Hallstatt peoples of central Spain and the Ebro valley*. Behind the Cempsí of central Spain, in the southern part of the upper Table-land (represented by Cogotas I and Numantia I) and in the Ebro valley (Redal and Roquízal del Rullo) were other Celts of archaic Hallstatt culture. In the Castilian table-land these were overrun by the *Sefes* and other peoples of the Second Celtic Wave (Las Cogotas II) and later by Belgic tribes; surviving only, perhaps, in Numantia I and in the 'castros' of northern Soria.

Some tribe-names are connected with this Celtic group. The pre-Arevacian population of Numantia may have been the tribe of the *Pelendones* of whom there are traces in southern France (p. 68), and to whom belonged northern and eastern Soria. In the Roman wars Numantia was Arevacian; but later the town was supposed by Ptolemy to belong again to the *Pelendones*. As a matter of fact, in the third century B.C. the Arevaci had advanced from the west in the Duero valley, as is indicated by the stratigraphy of Ocenilla, where the upper or Arevacian stratum is separ-

ated from the lower by traces of fire. In Numantia, although the stratigraphy is not so clear, there are some signs of an older non-Arevacian level, and this, together with the archaic finds (pp. 53-4) may belong to the Pelendones.

The farthest extension of the late urnfield culture of Aragon, mixed with elements of the Hallstatt culture of Roquizal de Rullo, is from the Maestrazgo to the Palancia valley. It may be connected with the *Berybraces* whom the *Periplus* places in the hills near Valencia. These people would thus be of the same group as the *Pelendones*. They can be connected, too, with the very early phase of the Celtic peoples of southern France, where the territory of the *Bebryces*, secluded on the north side of the Albères, was crossed by Hannibal after crossing the Pyrenees by the Col de la Perche, and advancing to Illiberis (Elne) in the Roussillon.⁷⁹ These French and Spanish *Pelendones* and *Berybraces* (pp. 39, 41, 68) are probably remnants of the same group of Celtic peoples, already settled in France at the beginning of the Second Celtic Wave, and dispersed by its transit across their territory. Joined with them were perhaps some fresh elements of German Hallstatt origin, indicated by the painted ware of Aragon (p. 51) and by the archaic Hallstatt vase-forms and *Kerbschnitt* decoration in Cogotas I (p. 53).

3. THE COMING OF THE SEFES AND RELATED PEOPLES ABOUT 600 B.C.: GALLAECI, TURONES, OLCADES, AND CELTS OF COGOTAS II CULTURE

(a) *Composition*. This group is hard to recognize, as it was both originally of very varied composition and also was dispersed and obliterated in central Spain by the later Belgic invasions, and in Portugal by the spread of the Lusitanians. There remain only the extreme group of the *Gallaeci*, the tribes who penetrated among the Astures, and the smaller groups of *Galli* of Aragon, and the *Turolenses* and *Olcades* on the borders of the Table-land. Archaeologically it is represented by the Late Hallstatt and 'Castro' culture of Portugal, Galicia, and León, and by that

of Cogotas II. As components, the following populations may be distinguished: (i) of Eifel-Hunsrück culture and that of the 'skeleton-graves' of Thuringia (*Nemetates-Nemetes* and *Turones*); (ii) of the Hallstatt culture of eastern France (*Lingones*); (iii) of western France (*Lemavi-Lemovices*); (iv) Teutonic groups (*Poemani* in Galicia; *Eburones* of Portugal). The origin of the *Olcades* is doubtful. In the *Galli* of Aragon as in the *Gallaeci* and *Celtici* we may see general terms; while other tribe-names—the *Artabri*, *Tamarici*, and *Supertamarici* of Pliny—merely denote geographical location, on the Tambre river or beyond it. The name of the *Sefes* (in the *Periplus*) may also be a general denomination of Portuguese and Gallacian tribes, derived from a common snake-cult (p. 71) or federal badge adopted during the migration, or the special name of a leading tribe, perhaps the actual *Sefes* of the Portuguese coast.

(b) *Gallaeci*. Organized in many small local tribes, and probably very complex, this group may have included Celts of various origins, as in France and in Germany. Of some tribes of Galicia and Asturias there are important traces in France: of the *Lingones* the principal group had remained in the *terres hautes* (p. 38) of Langres, perhaps from the very beginning of the Hallstatt period. They had left another remnant in the Garonne passes (Langon); there were *Lingones* in Galicia, and *Lungones* in Asturias. The *Nemetes* (p. 38) left traces at Nemours, between Seine and Loing, and an important body remained on the Rhine till the days of Ariovistus, when they had become Teutonized (p. 99). The Galician *Lemavi* reappear in the *Lemovices* of Limousin. It is difficult to decide whether they came in the Second Celtic Wave, or whether those who went to Spain belonged to the older Hallstatt culture of western France, and joined the movement for adventure, like the *Lingones*. If the *Lemovices* of north Germany, at the mouth of the Oder, were Celtic, they had perhaps been detached long before the westward migrations.

(c) *Turones-Turodi*. These are interesting people. *Turodi*

are found in Galicia and in Asturias as well as in Teruel, where their town was still *Turolium* in medieval times: in antiquity their name is more often given as *Turboletes*. In France there were *Turones* around Tours, and in Germany Thuringia keeps their name, since some of them remained there and were absorbed in the Teutonic invaders. Those who went west left their 'skeleton-graves' in the Rhön highland and in Hesse (p. 27).

(d) *Origins of these peoples, and their routes to Spain.* The advance of Teutonic peoples into Hesse and Thuringia, as we have seen (p. 38), expelled the Turones and other peoples of Hesse and the Rhineland through the territory of the Eifel-Hunsrück culture and the Saar valley; among them the Sefes from the Rhine between Cologne and Coblenz and part of the Nemetes. From the Saar their way was by Nancy or Metz, Bar-le-Duc, Troyes, Orleans, and Tours. In eastern France they were joined by part of the Lingones, and in Touraine part of the Turones remained; later, some of the Lemovices joined them from Limousin.

(e) *Sojourn in the upper Ebro valley and on the upper Tableland.* The whole group must have remained for some time in these regions, while they drove to its farther border the archaic Hallstatt culture, represented by Las Cogotas I and Numantia I. It is difficult to determine the date of this supersession, and of the Areneros of Madrid (p. 53). Nor have we an exact date for the arrival of the Sefes in Portugal, or of the other tribes in Galicia, Asturias, and León: it may have been either a natural overflow from the Tableland, or the result of the coming of Belgic tribes. The geographical position of the *Vaccaei* favours the latter alternative, for their advance was diagonally to the south-west, to Valladolid, Zamora, and Salamanca provinces, and the confluence of the Cea and Douro.

(f) *Routes of the Celtic expansion into north Portugal, Galicia, and Asturias.* Definite positions were reached, when the territory of the Astures was crossed from the Cea river and

the road-junction at *Brigaetium* (Benavente). One route led by Benavente and Puebla de Sanabria and entered Galicia by the Bollo territory of the *Bibali* (*Forum Bibalorum* is Viana del Bollo), following the Limia and crossing it before the Sierra de San Mamede, and thence moving along the small river Camba near Porto Camba. From the upper Limia—where the *Limici* had their *Forum Limicorum* (Ginze de Limia) and the *Quacerni* their *Aquae Quacernorum* (Baños de Bande)—the road led to the Orense district (Orense = *Forum Narbassorum*) and to the lower Minho, where the *Grovii* held *Tudae* (Tuy) or to the lower Limia where the *Lubaeni* held *Cambaetum* (Cambezes) near Moncár and the Spanish frontier. Along the same road, the *Nemetati* reached their positions at Braccara, Braga, and Volobriga in the Averal, and became probably the leading tribe of the *Callaici Braccari*, in the neighbouring coastal districts of the Portuguese province of Minho.

A fork of this road at Benavente, by Puebla de Sanabria, entered the Portuguese district of Traz-os-Montes, and passed through the territory of the *Zoelae*, who were included among the Astures, but held the obviously Celtic town of *Brigantium* (Bragança). Tribes of the *Callaici Braccari* using this route were the *Luanci* of Merua (the fort of Mereira in the Tuella or Tua valley), the *Turodi* of *Aquae Flaviae* (Chaves) in the Tamega valley, and the *Equaesi* of the Sabor valley south of Bragança. Another tribe of the *Callaici Braccari* were the *Caelarini* of Chelio-briga (Castello de Calabres) near the mouth of the Douro in the Serra Marofa, Serra da Lapa, Serra de Montemuro, and Serra Gralheira which separated them from other Celtic tribes of the Sefes group, of which the several names are lost. The *Caelerini* may have come from Salamanca through Vitigudino—La Fregeneda—Barca d'Alva. South of this road from Salamanca the *Sefes* passed along the line of Celtic fortresses, Mirobriga (Ciudad Rodrigo)—Cottaebrobriga (Almeida), and Lancia Oppidana (between Almeida and Guarda) in the district south of Serra de Marofa in the

upper Coa valley, which afterwards belonged to the *Vettones*. The Celtic fortress-names remained into Roman times, though the territory was then occupied by Lusitanians: Talabriga (Souza), Conimbriga (Condeixa-a-Velha near Coimbra), and Arabriga (Alemquer). These coast Sefes extended from Cap Roca to the Serra Gralheira south of the Douro mouth, perhaps including the Vizeu district and the valleys of the Vouga and Mondego, as far as the indigenous *Conii* at Conimbriga. From the southern slopes of the Serra da Estrella to the coast north of Lisbon lay the *Cempsii* who had come by the Tagus valley; but the most rugged districts of the Serra da Estrella itself, the Serra Gardunha and the Serra do Moradal, along the upper Zezere, were a retreat of the Lusitanians.¹²⁷

The northern group of Callaici, the *Callaici Lucenses*, may have diverged at the road-junction of Brigaetium (Benavente), crossed the territory of the Astures, and followed the normal route into Galicia to Astorga, the Vierzo district, and the upper Sil valley. Thence one party followed the Sil across the territory of the indigenous *Gigurri* round *Forum Gigurrorum* (El Barco de Valdeorras)—where they had a Celtic fortress Calabriga between Rua and Petín—and reached the *Tiburi* of Nemetobriga (Puebla de Trives). Another party crossed the Sierra and Picos de Ancares by the Puerto de Piedrafita, and spread over Lugo province: it included the *Lemavi* of the district of Dactonium (Monforte de Lemus), the *Seurri* of Talamina (Neira de Jussá) and *Aquae Quintinae* (Fonsagrada), and the *Capori* of Lucus (Lugo). Connected with these folk were probably the *Baedyi*, the most distant tribe, the *Artabri* of Claudiomerium (near Ortigueira), Flavium Brigantium (La Coruña), and Novium (Noya), and the *Cilini* of *Aquae Flaviae* (Caldas de Reyes).

From Brigaetium (Benavente), also, the territory of the Astures was crossed northward through León and the Puerto de Pajares. Among the Astures penetrated the Celtic *Lungones* of Paecolontium (Pola de Lena) and the *Selini* (cf. Callaici

Cilini) on the Gijón coast about Nardinium (Gigia). The actual province of Asturias belonged to the Astures. East of the Lungones and south of the Selini near the Vindius (Picos de Europa) the *Orniaci* held Intercatia, the position of which is unknown, perhaps in the Infiesto country. West of the Selini and Lungones lay the *Paesici* with the town Flavionavia (Pravia) and Naelio (Nalón) river which flows through the districts of Oviedo, Avelés, and Tineo. After Pliny's time there was another tribe in the extreme west of Asturias, the *Albiones*, who ruled the Navia valley, which Ptolemy assigned to the Callaici. In León province the Astures were represented by the *Lancienses* in the actual district of León (*Legio VII. Gemina*) with Lancia (Castro de Villasariego) east of León and Mansilla. They bordered on the Vaccaeii at the Ebro; as also did the *Baedunenses* of Baedunia, the *Cebrones* near La Bañeza and Maliaca in Sahagún district, and the *Brigaetii* of the road-junction Brigaetium (Benavente), extending through the Tera valley, and the district of Puebla de Sanabria, to the Galician border. In the mountainous frontier district of Portugal and in the upper Sabor valley (where their inscriptions have been found at Castro de Avelhaes) were the *Zoelae*, among whom Brigantium (Bragança) suggests Celtic domination. North of the *Brigaetii*, the *Amaci* of Asturica Augusta (Astorga) were neighbours along the Montes de León of the *Superatii* of El Bierzo (Vierzo) in the upper Sil valley, who occupied Interamnium Flavium (Ponferrada), Petavonium (Benuza), and Bergidum Flavium (Cacabelos near Píeros).

On the road into Galicia, by the Sil valley, the *Gigurri* (certainly Astures) held the Celtic fortress at *Forum Gigurrorum* (El Barco de Valdeorras). Their neighbours, the *Tiburi* of Nemetobriga (Puebla de Trives), are shown to be Celtic by their advanced location between the Lemavi and Bibali, though Ptolemy describes them as Asturian.

It is, however, possible that as the Astures, among whom these Celts penetrated, were indigenous, some of the Callaici may have included pre-Celtic elements and per-

haps were regarded in Roman times as indigenous. On their border in the Sil valley the character of the population probably fluctuated, as in the north-east, where the *Albiones* were indigenous though included by Ptolemy among his Callaecian districts. Other Galician peoples too, whose names are not specifically Celtic—*Seurri*, *Capori*, *Tiburri*, *Bibali*, *Gigurri*—may well be indigenous, but were under Celtic domination like most of the Asturian tribes. The case of the *Cantabri* is similar.

(g) *Vettones and Cogotas II*. The later *Vettones*, perhaps one of these Celticized tribes, had their boundaries in the Sierras of Gata, Peña de Francia, and Gredos, but held advanced posts on the passes into Estremadura, and as far as Plasencia, and appear to have advanced through northern Estremadura to the Tagus valley. This territory they lost, however, through the great Lusitanian expansion, as the Sefes lost their territory between Cap Roca and the Douro.

Ávila province and its mountainous recesses, where the culture of Cogotas II persisted, was probably a refuge of this group of Celts, after the coming of the Belgic peoples. This caused a retreat through the passes between Sierra de Gredos and S. Guadarrama, to the Areneros sites near Madrid, where the name of Miaccum (Casa de Campo?), west of Madrid, if Celtic, should indicate a Celtic intrusion among the Iberian *Carpetani*.

(h) *Olcades*. This tribe, too, may be connected with the Sefes group. Its location is not quite certain, but probably it lay between the upper Tagus and upper Jucar. Here are the Celtic town-name *Segobriga* (Cabeza del Griego near Saelices, prov. Cuenca), and the graves of Pajarón, Pagaroncillo, and Santa Cruz de Moya, and others along the natural outlet to the coast by Motilla del Palancar, Requena, and south of Valencia. The Celtic name of Belgida, and Celtic influence in the Contestanian (Iberian) culture of Oliva and La Serreta of Alcoy, point to Celtic expansion to the coast. The name of the *Contestani*, too, has been

thought to be Celtic. The frontier with Iberian tribes, in the mountains south of the Jucar, on the Valencia-Albacete boundary, is probably marked by the place-name Cofrentes in the Almansa district, north of the Iberian fortress of Meca (El Bonete).

The route by which the Olcades reached their territory may be connected with the retreat of the Sefes from the northern Table-land. They may have come from north Estremadura, ascended the Tagus valley through Talavera, crossed the Carpetanian territory around Madrid, and established themselves in the neighbourhood of Segobriga.

(i) *Galli of the Gállego and Turones-Turolenses*. The Belgic advance on the Table-land and the Rioja district of the upper Ebro valley may account for the retreat of the *Turones* and of the *Galli* of the Gállego. The *Turones* may have set out from the Douro valley near Aranda de Duero and followed the route Uxama (Gormaz)-Ocilis (Medinaceli)-Medina de Aragon-Monreal-Teruel, along which was found the antenna-sword of Aguilar de Anguita, of the latest Hallstatt period. With the *Turones* of Turolium (Teruel) is connected the small tribe of the *Lobetani* about Albarracín. We have no proof that they were Celts, but their territory is closely connected with Teruel. The last unit of the Sefes group was probably the *Galli* of the Gállego. Their not very natural position in the hills between the Iberian *Ilergetes* of Osca, and the *Edetani*, also Iberian, of Saragossa, points to repulse through the upper Ebro valley by Belgic new-comers.

4. THE BELGIC INVASION AFTER 600 B.C.

(a) *Origin and routes of the Belgic invaders*. The last stage of the Second Celtic Wave of invasion in Spain seems to be the arrival in Spain of Belgic tribes, who caused the retreat of the Sefes, Gallaeci, *Turones*, and *Olcades*, already traced in Section 3. The breakdown of the frontier between Teutons and Celts on the lower Rhine (p. 45) allowed the intrusion of Teutonic tribes among the Belgic peoples, and

the departure of a Belgic group to the west. Among the first to arrive were the *Poemani* and *Eburones*: the former reappear, as we have seen (p. 72) in Spanish Galicia, and the latter among the Sefes of Portugal at the far end of the Celtic migration to the west. Other Eburones, with Germani and Cimbri, reappear among the Cempsii (p. 74). These tribes may have set out among the vanguard of the Belgae, and become lost among the Gallaeci and Sefes who were driven from the plains of León into Galicia. The Spanish *Poemani* may, however, have broken loose in Germany, while the original group was advancing through the lower Rhine, and become lost among peoples of Eifel-Hunsrück culture (since Teutonic *Rauhtopf* ware spread to the neighbourhood of Coblenz) and so moved west with them (p. 72). In Galicia the name of the *Poemani* appears near the *Lemavi*, *Nemetati*, and *Turones*, and not far from the *Lungones* of Asturias; and in Portugal the *Eburones* lived among the Sefes. This group of Celts, indeed, seems to be a mere congeries of peoples, formed on the middle Rhine, and swollen on its way through eastern and central France.

The main body of *Poemani* and *Eburones* crossed the Rhine with other Teutonic tribes, and entered Belgium by Cologne and Aix-la-Chapelle. In later times they were overrun by new-comers, and remained partly forgotten in the poorer districts of the Ardennes. These intrusions among Belgic peoples probably went on continuously during the centuries before Caesar, though we do not know exactly their different stages. We may presume that after the sixth-century movements and the relative peace of the La Tène I period, new pressure caused the departure of the Belgic *Britones* to England in La Tène II; while, later, we know that Belgium was touched by the great Cimbric and Teutonic migration, and that the *Tougenes*, a group of Teutons, remained there. In Caesar's time many Belgic tribes were conscious of their Teutonic blood; the Nervii, Remi, and Treviri were probably Teutonized Celts. Distinctly Teutonic were the Morini and Menapii of the coast

(who had a poor culture in La Tène times, with Harpstedt-Hallstatt survivals), the Eburones, Condrusi, Caerosi, Poemani, and Sequi, mentioned by Caesar. But other Teutonic tribes, such as the Tungri, were the most important in Imperial times, and their name is used by Tacitus to denote the whole group. Their crossings of the Rhine continued, and were sometimes favoured by the Romans, for instance that of the Ubii. To ascertain exact dates for the arrival of other tribes is difficult; but by analogy with the Poemani and Eburones of Spain (pp. 72, 74), we may be sure that some Teutons arrived early in Belgic territory.

This sixth-century pressure caused the migration of a mass of Belgic tribes from Belgium and north-eastern France including the *Suessiones*, who halted at Soissons, the *Ambiani* of Amiens, the *Veliocasses* north of the Seine, and the *Bellovaci* of Beauvais. With them were the Belgic *Nervii* of Brabant, and the *Autrigones* whose origin may be among the *Aulerci Ebuovices* on the Eure, also perhaps mixed with Teutons. The leading tribes were now probably the *Suessiones* and *Bellovaci*. By the regular route—St. Quentin—Paris—Chartres—Tours—Angoulême—they reached and crossed the Garonne, and thence, through the Landes district—by Bordeaux—Belin—Dax—Bayonne, or by Libourne—La Réole—Langon—Bazas—Mont de Marsan—Dax—Bayonne—they passed on to Cambo (*Cambodunum*) and so traversed the Pyrenees.

Two passes lead to Pamplona: it may be asked which of them was used for this, and for the other Celtic invasions. In historical times Roncesvalles or Ibañeta was the normal one, and it is now the main route through the range. But in more primitive conditions, the Elizondo pass may have been less difficult.

(b) *Belgic penetration among Basque and Cantabrian peoples: Suessiones and Berones; Autrigones and Turmodigi.* The main migration must have gone to Pamplona and thence by the Vitoria road to the Miranda junction on the Ebro. Thence the *Bellovaci*, *Vaccæi*, *Arevaci*, and *Belli-Titti* traversed the

fertile plains of northern Castile, the Table-land, Tierra de Campos, and the provinces of Palencia and Valladolid, followed by the *Turmodigi*, who were more or less related to the Belgic *Ambiani* of Ambionia (Castrogérez, prov. Burgos). The other tribes remained between the Pyrenees and the Table-land, or penetrated other districts by roads diverging from Miranda.

The way to the Rioja, through Haro and Logroño, leads to central Spain, by the gorge of Pancorbo in the Montes Obarenes, and through the Valle de la Bureba. The *Autrigones* established themselves on both sides of the Pancorbo pass and took the road across the Basque mountains of Vizcaya, by Osma de Valdegovia, Uxama, the Peñas de Orduña, and through the Villarcayo and Medina del Pomar districts, where *Segontia Paramica* is now Cigüenza del Páramo. From Villarcayo other roads leading to Santander brought Celts among the Iberian *Cantabri*: the *Aurini* and *Velegienses* are specifically Belgic: with the latter, and their town *Vellica* (Monte Bernorio) we may compare the *Velliocasses* in France; and the modern name Bernorio recalls that of the *Berones*.

In the Basque highlands are other peoples bearing Celtic names, the *Origeviones* on the Vizcayan coast, and the *Caristi* east of them, from Vitoria northward to the sea. The *Varduli*, though indigenous, were also more or less Celticized, as appears from the river-name Deva, and the town of Tolosa. The Nervión river suggests the presence of *Nervii*. While it looks as though the Celtic invaders dominated the Basque population at first, some of the natives, such as the *Vascones* and *Varduli*, recovered most of the territory after the collapse of Celtic power in Spain. Hence the confusion in later sources about certain boundaries, and the disappearance of the *Suessiones* after the Roman wars.

After their invasion these *Suessiones* had spread eastward from the Pamplona district¹²⁸ by the valley of Sangüesa towards Upper Aragon. At Navardúni (*Navardunum*) is a Celtic fortress, perhaps the citadel of the *Navarri*, neighbours

of the Vascones, whose name appears only in Visigothic and medieval times as that of a distinct people. Another Celtic fortress Berdún (Virodunum) closes the valley against the *Jacetani* of Jaca district. The *Suessiones*—called *Suessetani* in Roman sources—remained for some time in possession of eastern Navarre and western Saragossa, fighting with the Romans until they were defeated and absorbed by the Vascones. South of the Basque country the actual name of Treviño county may represent an old *trifinium* landmark between *Suessiones*, *Berones*, and *Caristi* or *Autrigones*.

(c) *Penetration on the Ebro and among the Lusones*. The spread of the *Berones* into the fertile Rioja points to Celtic occupation of further districts in the Ebro valley—Turiasso (Tarazona), Balsio (Cortes), and Bursada (Borja) on the eastern slopes of the Moncayo mountains.¹²⁹ But here Celts bore no special name, and were known later as the Celtiberians, in contact with the mixed Celts and Iberians of the Jalón valley.

Chief of these are the *Lusones*, probably Celts dominating an indigenous tribe of the same name as the *Lusitani* of Portugal,¹³⁰ which reappears in the territory of the *Belli*, in modern Luzaga and Luzón. They occupied the lower Jalón at Nertóbriga (Calatorao), the passes of the Iberian Sierras at Mundóbriga (Munébrega) and their foot-hills at La Almunia and Cariñena. They held the confluence of Jalón and Jiloca at Bilbilis (Calatayud) with an Iberian name, the Celtic-named Segeda (Belmonte), and Daroca in the lower Jiloca valley. The Celtic conquerors of the Lusones crossed the borderland of the Iberian *Edetani* of Saragossa, whose western frontier on the slopes of the Sierra de Cucalón has the landmark of Piedrahita (prov. Saragossa).

(d) *The spread of the Bellovaci from the Douro valley*: (α) *Belli* and *Titti*. Both sides of the Jalón valley were occupied—the left bank by the *Belli* of *Arcobriga* (Arcos), *Attacum* (Ateca), and *Ocilis* (Medinacelli), the right by the *Titti* up to the

Parameras of Molino and the Teruel district of the *Turolenses* (pp. 79, 84). The Belli were in contact with the Arevaci, who reached the Jalón valley from southern Soria and the Douro near *Ocilis* and *Segontia* (Sigüenza), and were themselves the most easterly group of the Vaccaeii in the most fertile districts of the Castilian Table-land. As the Belli, Titti, and Lusones were described by the Romans as *Celtiberi Citeriores*, and the Arevaci as *Ulteriores*, it may be asked whether they had perhaps reached the Jalón, not through difficult passes from the Ebro, but from the Douro and the Soria country by the normal route from Almazán to Ocilis; thence spreading about the Jalón and descending, through Lusonian territory and the Puerto de Frasnó pass through the Sierra de Vicor, to Cariñena, La Almunia, and Calatayud. In the latter event, the names of Luzaga and Luzón among the Titti would suggest that Celtic conquest destroyed an older unity of the Lusones. As the movement, in either event, reduced the territory of the Lusones in the strict sense, and Celticized the upper Douro valley, they may have been driven back among other Celts of the Sefes group belonging to the previous phase.

(d. β) *Retreat of the Galli, Pelendones, and Turones.* The advance of the Berones of the Rioja and of the vanguard of the Celtiberians of the Ebro caused the retreat of the Galli to the left bank of the Ebro and to the hills where the place-name Gallur marks the pass on the right bank. In the same way the eastward advance of the Bellovaci through the Douro valley caused the retreat of the Pelendones. Perhaps they also advanced to the Jalón valley, and drove back the Turones–Turolenses to Teruel through the Parameras of Molina and along the road Molina–Monreal–Torremocha–Teruel. The Turones attempted to reach the coast along the Pallantia (Palancia) river, where they held temporarily a strong position at Segobriga (Segorbe). Similar attempts to descend into the coast districts in later times are recorded by the wars between Turolenses–Turboletes and the people of Saguntum.

(d. γ) *The spread of the Arevaci.* The Pelendones (pp. 76-7), who belonged to the archaic Hallstatt culture of Las Cogotas I, retired to the upper Douro and the hills of northern and eastern Soria, the southern slopes of Sierra de la Demanda and Sierra Cebollera, and along the Linares and Alhama rivers by way of Contrebia Leucada near Cervera-de-Rio-Alhama to Aregada (Agreda) on the northern slopes of the Moncayo, and so into the neighbourhood of the Celtiberians of the Ebro. Numantia (p. 76) was held first by the Pelendones and later by the Arevaci, and in Roman times was considered an Arevacian town. The limit of advance, south and south-east of Soria, is given by the landmark of Ituero north-east of Almazán; and the north-eastern boundary is that of Fitero on the Alhama river, east of Contrebia Leucada, near the modern boundary of the provinces of Soria, Logroño, and Navarre.

(d. δ) *The Vaccaeii.* The geographical distribution of the Bellovaci shows that they conquered not only native populations, but also Celts of previous invasions, the Belli displacing the Pelendones and Turones in the east (p. 76), while the Vaccaeii took the most fertile parts of southern Burgos, Valencia, and Valladolid (Tierra de Campos) and reached the line of the river Cea in León, driving westward the Gallaeci and Astures: the Brigaetii succeeded in holding the important road-junction of Brigaetium at Benavente (p. 81). Southward the Vaccaeii spread south of the Douro, at the expense of Cogotas II people in prov. Ávila, and of the Celticized Vettones in prov. Zamora and Salamanca.

South-westward the frontiers may have fluctuated. During the prosperity of Cogotas II the Vaccaeii, at their smallest, may not have passed a line from Benavente, north of Zamora and Toro, crossing the Douro between Toro and Simancas, and continuing south-west of Medina del Campo and Arevalo to Ituero, a landmark near Villacastin, between Ávila and Segovia, on the northern slopes of the Sierra de Guadarrama. This line left Zamora, Salamanca, and Ávila,

and the culture-area of Cogotas II to the Celticized *Vettones*.

For the widest extension of the Vaccaei we have probably a *terminus ante quem* in the capture of Arbocala (Toro) from them by Hannibal in 219 B.C. The Romans seem to have reduced the Vaccaei again to a minimum territory, since Ptolemy gives Octodurum (Zamora) to the Vettones. The greatest expansion of the Vaccaei, if it was reached within the third century, may be connected with the transformation of Cogotas II in its last stage of culture, and with the improvement of Iberian types of painted pottery which is general in the Arevacian culture of Celtiberia from the third century to the Celtiberian wars. Their widest spread to the west is also parallel with their expansion eastward in the Douro valley at the expense of the Pelendones of Numantia; indicated by the burnt layer at Ocenilla (p. 69), between the old 'castro' culture of Soria, and the later culture of Numantia, which was occupied by the Arevaci till the old boundaries of the Pelendones were restored after the Numantine War.

5. THE CHARACTER OF THE CELTIC OCCUPATION, AND THE FATE OF THE CELTIC PEOPLES IN SPAIN

The invaders remained always densest on the Table-land; in the outlying territories only smaller groups can have arrived. The influence of Celtic culture also remained stronger on the Table-land, because there the native population was perhaps not so dense as on the coast, and remained in a more primitive stage of culture and economy, still based on rudimentary agriculture and on cattle-breeding, as in prehistoric times. The Celts, on the other hand, evolved the large-scale wheat-culture which was one of their historical characteristics.

The coast-land was inhabited by richer and more civilized peoples, who were in relation with foreign colonists and traders, knew the art of mining, and made voyages to the tin deposits of Britain. These resisted the Celtic

conquest, which failed in the south and east, and succeeded only in Portugal and Galicia and in the extreme north. In Portugal and Galicia a dense population was defeated and blended with the invaders, who, being only a military aristocracy, became more or less absorbed. Only in some extreme districts of the north and of the south did Celts continue to exist as distinct peoples.

In central Spain, on the contrary, the Celts absorbed the natives and became a leading folk. On the borders of the Table-land, where a strong Iberian element persisted, the Celts survived as a most active element of a mixed Celtiberian population and culture. In some districts Celts developed active trade, and probably even took some part in the mining industry.¹³¹

Celtic dominion in Spain remained unshaken till the third century B.C. Then it seems to have collapsed. Perhaps peaceful acclimatization in their new homes, intermixture with the natives, and adaptation to the complexities of peninsular geography led to quarrels among the Celtic tribes themselves, and cost them their military efficiency. Their downfall was also precipitated, late in the third century, by the Carthaginian attempt to dominate central Spain, and the appearance of Carthaginian forces in the upper Table-land.

Another event, moreover, which contributed to break the dominion of the Celts in the south and west of the Peninsula, was the rise of the Lusitanian power, presumably in the course of the third century. The Lusitanians belonged to the aboriginal pre-Celtic population, when kindred tribes had held wide territories, not only in Portugal but in north-central Spain, as is shown by the modern names Luzaga and Luzón in the country of the Belli, and by the Celticized *Lusones* among the *Celtiberi Citeriores* (p. 89). Celtic invasions had obliterated them in Spain, except in the mountainous inland districts of the Sierra de Estrella in Portugal, where they survived and were influenced by Celtic culture, and perhaps submitted to the Celts. Viria-

thus and others of their leaders have Celtic names. But after the decline of the Celts, these highlanders came down from their mountains, and conquered wide territories in Portugal and in western Spain, especially in Estremadura; raiding also the rich lands of Andalusia and the centre. Only with great difficulty did the Romans defeat and pacify them.

After some resistance by the *Celtiberi Citeriores* the main Celtic opposition to the Romans was offered by the *Arevaci*, helped by the *Vaccae*. In southern Portugal and Estremadura the last remaining Celts, the *Cemps*i (later called *Celtici*), did not offer much resistance, nor did the Gallaecian tribes. In the wars of Augustus among the *Astures* and *Cantabri*, Celtic elements were no longer recognizable as a distinct folk, and had probably been absorbed by the natives.

Later, there remained only survivals in language and culture; but Celtic traditions persisted in the provincial Roman art of the Celticized districts;¹³² and until Suebian and Visigothic times the names *Gallaeci* and *Galicia* persisted in the north-west. Primitive cults and beliefs survived the acceptance of Christianity, as is shown by the efforts of the Galician bishops, the writings of Saint Martinus Dumienensis, and the denunciations of local superstitions by the *concilia*. Both the persecution of sorcerers in Galicia by the Inquisition, and modern Galician folk-lore, are testimony to Celtic survivals.

In León and Castile, Celtic survivals may have been strong during the early Middle Ages. Here, primitive Celtic law was still alive, since Romanization did not go so deep as in other districts. On older Celtic institutions, too, may be based the Teutonic elements in Visigothic legal tradition.

NOTES

[Abbreviated references are usually given in full in the Bibliography, pp. 109-26]

1. Tumulus de la Roche Rousse (comm. Esclanèdes). Hubert, *Les Celtes*, i, p. 303, supposes that the barrow-culture reached Belgium too, by reason of the Belgian 'marchets'.
2. Urmitz (Kr. Coblenz); Wettweiss near Zulpich (Kr. Düsseldorf); Friedberg, Muschenheim, &c. (Hesse).
3. Cündling; late urnfields = *jüngere Urnenfelder*.
4. *Baden*: Oberendingen-Biningen group; *Western Alps*: Auvernier (Neuchâtel Lake), Möringen, Genève-Eaux-vives, in Switzerland; Lake Bourget in Savoy.
5. *Doubs*: Baume cave near Montbéliard; *Jura*: Montmirey-la-Vieille (cave); Baume-les-Messieurs (settlement); *Ain*: Saint-Bernard.
6. *Allier*: Dompierre-sur-Bresle; *Nièvre*: Pougues-les-eaux, Arthel.
7. Such pottery is found in the Dordogne caves Laugerie-Basse and Roc de Saint Christophe; in the forest of Compiègne (Oise), Camp de Saint Pierre-en-Chastre, and Fort-Harrouard (Normandie).
8. Gabor (cemetery), Plain de Saint Sulpice near St. S.-la-Pointe (Tarn); Saint Roch and Le Cluzel (cemeteries) near Toulouse, Espiaup and Garin near Bagnères-de-Luchon (Haute-Garonne).
9. Plà-de-Béret (cemetery) near Salardù.
10. *Ariège*: Pamiers, and caves in this district; *Cerdagne*: Fou de Bort (cave).
11. *Gard*: urnfield types in Grotte du Cingle-de-l'Elze near Causse de Blandas; *Vaucluse*: bronze knives at Jonquières. *Aude*: Caverne de Montredon; Fleury d'Aude (cemetery); Grotte de Bize.
12. Terrassa (oldest graves), Argentona, Janet, at the beginning of *Catalan I a* (Pl. I a-e).
13. Caves at Ullà and Llorà; vases at Argentona (Pl. I b, c); cemeteries of Terrassa (Pl. I a, e, h, j, m, p) and Sabadell; hut-sites (*fonds de cabane*) at Can Fatjó del Orons near San Cujet del Valles.
14. Cemeteries at Vilars, Agullana (Pl. I f), Port de la Selva (Pl. I g); cave at Mont Bufadors in P. de la Selva.
15. Caves at Janet near Tivissa (Pl. I d), at Gralles near Masroig, and near Marsà; cemeteries and village near El Molar.
16. Village-site at Guissona (Pl. I o, q-s); Llardecans (cemetery: Pl. I k, l).
17. Esplugu Negra (cave) at Sant Llorens dels Morunys; settlement at Marlès itself near Berga (Pl. II a, b, d); Segre cave in Vilaplana (Pl. II c); grave at Turo de las Mentides, Vich; places near Solsona; Castell-Vell (village, lower stratum), and the 'silos' of La Guingueta.

18. Pallars; Beranuy (vase); Camporàn (hoard of amulets); Joan d'Os cave near Tartare, south of the Montsech.
19. Fou de Bort (small urns in cave); Plà de Beret near Salardù in Val d'Aran (old find of urnfields).
20. Fou de Bort cave.
21. Can Missert; Terrassa (earliest graves); Argentona (vases); Janet cave near Tivissa (Pl. I a-e).
22. Cemeteries of Punta del Pi Vilars, Agullana (Pl. I f, g); Terrassa (central graves); pottery from caves of Mont Bufadors, Port de la Selva (Pl. I g), Cáu del Duc (Ullà), and Bora Tuna (Llorà).
23. Terrassa (later graves); Can Roqueta in Sabadell (graves); Guissona (Pl. I o, q-s) and El Molar (settlements and oldest graves); Llardecans (urnfield).
24. Llardecans and El Molar (graves).
25. Las Vallettes, in Sena (village and graves; Pl. II e-i); Presiñena.
26. Tossal de los Tenalles in Sidimunt.
27. Puig Castellar (village); Cabrera de Matarò (graves).
28. Anseresa village (called also El Vilarò), in Olius (v-iv cent.); Sant Miguel in Sorba (mostly iii cent.).
29. Hubert, *Les Celtes*, i, pp. 322 ff.; *Rev. archéologique*, 1909, ii, p. 52; *Rev. celtique*, 1913, p. 418. On one of the *stelae* is represented an Hallstatt-D dagger, *RA.* 1909, ii, p. 54, fig. 3.
30. Illyrian expansion and influence. Pokorný, *Zur Urgeschichte der Illyrier*, Halle, 1938 (off-print from *Z. f. celt. Philologie*, xx-xxi) does not convince me that a distinct Illyrian invasion of western Europe could have taken place even if the Celtic languages had been so strongly influenced by the Illyrian as he states. He himself admits that one may 'bei der nahen Verwandtschaft zwischen dem Keltischen und Illyrischen in manchen Fällen um blosse Urverwandtschaft statt späterer Entlehnung handeln' (p. 177).

Pittioni (in Pokorný, *Die Urnenfeldleute und ihre Bedeutung für die europäische Urgeschichte*, p. 184) derives Rhenish and south German urnfields from the Lausitz culture of central Germany, in spite of their generally admitted origin in the Danube and western Alps. We may continue to believe that the latter is correct, as in spite of direct Lausitz influences in the Rhenish urnfields their general character depends more on the cultures of the eastern Alps and Danube. These, though closely connected with Lausitz, are an autonomous development which cannot be explained as a mere extension of it. If Lausitz is 'Illyrian', it is a branch of that Illyrian family whose cradle is to be sought in the middle Danube and its neighbourhood.

That the Illyrian element did not predominate, and that the proto-Celtic population of western Germany and eastern France in the

Bronze Age was the decisive factor in the formation of the historical Celts, is also the opinion of Mahr, 'New Aspects and Problems in Irish Prehistory', Pres. Address, Prehistoric Society, *Proc. Preh. Soc.*, N.S. iii, 1937, pp. 398-9.

31. Biez and Luiksgestel (Brabant); Grobbendouck (Antwerp).
32. Emmerich, Meerhoog (Kr. Rees), Goch (Kr. Crefeld), Rosenthal (Kr. Heinsberg).
33. Lind near Wahn; Leverkusen-Schlebusch (Kr. Rhein-Wupper).
34. In Germany: Flingern (Kr. Düsseldorf), Diersford and Emmerich (Kr. Rees), Kaldenkirchen (Kr. Kempen). In Holland: Riethoven and Vlodrop. In Belgium: Bergyk (N. Brabant), Noville-sur-Mehaigne (Brabant), and other places.
35. Gehring and Kalt (Kr. Mayen), Mühlheim (Kr. Koblenz), Wahn near Troisfort and between Sieg and Wupper.
36. Niedervellmar and Gelnhausen: Molzbach-Sandstrauch (Rhön district).
37. Especially in the cemeteries of Holland—De Weert, Niersen, Leusden; and of Belgium—La Quénique near Court-Saint-Étienne (Brabant), Gedine Gwode (Namur).
38. Leusden near Utrecht, De Hammert, Soesterberg.
39. Dittmarschen: Wessenstedt near Ülzen.
40. Diersford, Häubinghorst (Kr. Recklingshausen) on the lower Lippe; and especially the Bonninghardt barrows near Düsseldorf.
41. Wollinghuizen near Vlagtwedde and Wessinghuizen (pr. Groningen), Rijssen (pr. Overijssel), Sleen-Zweeloo and Vledder (pr. Drenthe); the latter an advanced stage equivalent to the Bonninghardt barrows.
42. Unterbimbach.
43. Binz, Molzbach. For Harlyn Bay. Leeds, *Archaeologia*, lxxvi, p. 229, fig. 10.
44. Unterbimbach—Binz, Molzbach—Sandstrauch.
45. Melzungen, Grossenritz near Kassel, Kassel-Wehlheiden.
46. For the establishment of this Ardennes—Eifel—Westerwalde frontier, the La Tène fortresses of these districts are significant, in connexion with the *Fürstengräber* and the La Tène I fibulae with masks and animal-heads: see the map in Schumacher, *Siedlungs- und Kulturgeschichte der Rheinlande*, i; and for the distribution of Greek imports, Déchelette, *Manuel*, iii, map v, and Hubert, *Les Celtes*, i, p. 199. Hesse preserved its Celtic population till the fresh Teutonic pressure in La Tène II, when the Volcae were forced to migrate though their line of fortresses was closed from Vogelsberg and Rhön to south of the Thüringerwald, where the Steinburg near Römhild (between Meiningen and Coburg) held out till the new pressure came, at the beginning of the first century B.C.: cf. Anderson, *Tacitus, Germania*,

- Oxford, 1938, pp. liv-lv; Götze, 'Die Steinburg bei Römhild', *Präh. Z.*, 1921-2, pp. 19 ff.
47. Voivré (Lorraine); Haroué, Lemainville and Diarville (Meurthe-et-Moselle); Bois Bouchot (Côte-d'Or).
 48. From Defranche, Amancey, Amondans (Doubs), Myon (Ain), Moidons, Ivory, Château-Salins (Jura) to Chamesson, Sainte-Colombe, Panges (Côte-d'Or), Essy-les-eaux, Attancourt (Haute-Marne), and Haroué (Meurthe-et-Moselle): bracelets (Moidons); fibulae (Château-Salins); girdles (Panges and other places in Doubs).
 49. As the Late Hallstatt fortresses in eastern France seem designed to resist invasion from Germany, it is significant that so many of them are in Lorraine, and defend the upper Moselle, just at the time of the exodus from the district of the Eifel-Hunsrück culture. When that danger was over, and the frontier against Germany was re-established by the new Ardennes-Eifel-Westerwald-Taunus line of La Tène fortresses, and during the prosperous Fürstengräber period, the Late Hallstatt fortresses were abandoned: Hubert, *Les Celtes*, ii, p. 9, offering 'une image peu connue, mais qui s'impose, d'une Gaule pacifique à la veille des campagnes d'Italie et de Grèce'; cf. Lantier, 'Tendances nouvelles en archéologie', *Revue de synthèse*, xvii, 1939, p. 14.
 50. Baron (barrow), Grotte du Signal de Bronzais, Baume Longue (Dions), Gr. Nicolas (Russan), Gr. du Cimetière in the Gorges de la Cèze (Tharaux), and Gr. Saint-Veradème in Sanilhac.
 51. Tumulus de la Borie d'Arre near Rogues (Gard), Montpellier (Hérault), Boutarès, Loupiac, and Launac (hoard).
 52. Sainte-Foy, Roquebrune, Roquecourbe near Castres.
 53. Avezac-Prat, and the Landes cemeteries.
 54. Greek trade with peoples of Hallstatt and La Tène cultures: Déchelette, *Manuel*, iii, p. 1428 (map of geogr. distribution of imports); Hubert, *Les Celtes*, i, p. 199; Jacobsthal, 'Rhodische Schnabelkannen aus Hallstatt-D Gräbern', *Jahrb. d. D. Arch. Inst.*, 1929, p. 198; Jacobsthal and Neuffer, 'Gallia Graeca, recherches sur l'hellénisation de la Provence', *Préhistoire*, II, i, 1933.
 55. Villingen (Hohenzollern), Kappel-am-Rhein (Baden), and Bavaria (two of unknown origin in Munich Museum).
 56. Narbonne (Etruscan 'bucchero' *skyphos*, and Corinthian pottery); Mont Laurès (Ionian and Attic black-figured, and grey Anatolian pottery); Pech-Maho site (black-figured); Ensérune near Béziers (Anatolian grey-ware and black-figured Attic); Cayla site (grey-ware).
 57. Montlaurès, Ensérune, Cayla, Pech-Maho.
 58. Iberian culture of south-eastern France: Bosch-Gimpera, *Etnologia*

- de la Peninsula ibérica*, Barcelona, 1932, pp. 406 ff.; Hélène, *Les Origines de Narbonne*, Toulouse, 1937.
59. Swords, a girdle-fastening, and pottery, at Ensérune.
60. Iberian ethnology of south-eastern France: Bosch-Gimpera, *Ethnologia*, l.c.; Blanchet, 'Les Ibères en Gaule', *Revue de synthèse*, 1939, pp. 33 ff. That the population of south-eastern France, even after the coming of the Volcae, was a mixture of Ligurians and Iberians (Αἰγυες καὶ Ἰβήρες μυγάζες, Ps.-Scylax. fr. 3), is confirmed by the finds at Ensérune and Montlaurès, by the coins of Narbonne with Iberian inscriptions—*Nerone*, *Nerenen*, *Neroncen*—found at Montlaurès, and by those of the *Longostaletes* of Béziers. Probably the Volcae were only a dominant element, which did not much alter the general character of the inhabitants. The town *Iliberris* continued to bear its Iberian name until the time of Constantine, when it was changed to *Helena* (mod. Elne).
61. It is difficult to understand how Hallstatt culture reached central France. Perhaps groups of Bronze Age 'barrow'-folk in the southern dependencies (Lozère) of the *Massif Central* were reinforced during the Hallstatt period by other settlers from eastern France. For these districts do not seem to have been densely populated, and the newcomers were not numerous. Lantier reaches the same conclusion, in a letter to the writer: 'Petit nombre d'établissements celtiques en dehors de la Champagne et de la Bourgogne. Ailleurs on ne rencontre que de petits groupes celtiques jalonnant les routes. En Gaule, à l'exception de l'Est, les Celtes apparaissent uniquement en position de chefs. Même conclusion pour la Provence jusque dans la région de Toulouse. Ils ont imposé leur domination aux populations déjà en place au néolithique.'
62. Bracelets of Castelnau de Levis (Tarn) and of Iglé (Haute-Loire).
63. *Gironde*: Truc-du-Bourdiou in Pujaut (Mios), Bois de Caubet, Gaillards, and Boun de la Peyre (Biganos), Berceau, Castandet, Bourg, and Sablons (Salles); *Landes*: Aubagnan and Uchacq (cemeteries).
64. Jumillac, Forêt de Saint-Hilaire-Lastou, and the Avezac-Prats sites.
65. Pontacq (*B.-P.*); Ossun, Bartres, Avezac-Prat (*H.-P.*).
66. Ayer (Ariège, Late Hallstatt); Avezac-Prat (post Halstatt).
67. El Redal (Rioja; Pl. III *a*), Roquizal de Rullo (Lower Aragon; Pl. III *h, i*); compare Bois du Roc (Charente).
68. Latest graves of La Quénique in Court-Saint-Étienne (Brabant).
69. Écurey, Varilles de Bouy, Charvais, Bussy-le-Château.
70. In Jersey, Dolmen du Géomais, La Hougue Mauger, La Hougue des Platons (cremation grave with bucket-urn); Ville-ès-Nouaux (urnfield with pottery recalling All Cannings Cross).

71. Relations between Brittany and the 'castro' culture: Lannion and Bignan (Morbihan); tumuli of Castel-Meur-en-Clédén; and of Cloat-plen-Cloat (Saint-Goazec); cemetery of Kerviltré in Saint-Jean-de-Trolimon (Finistère) with stamped circles and duck-patterns as in Galicia, and undecorated urns related both with Bonninghardt and with Alpiarça.
72. Jacobsthal, 'An Iberian bronze found in Sligo', *Journ. R. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, N.S. viii, 1938, p. 51. Britain: Aust-on-Severn; Blandford (Dorset).
73. Lingones south of Bordeaux: Hubert, *Les Celtes*, ii, p. 92. It is characteristic that in the Gironde there is later a mixture of various peoples, under the main tribe-name *Bituriges-Vivisci*: *Lingones* and *Boii* (pays de Buch) and also *Belendi-Pelendones*; as though successive groups of Celts had reached the district, as they reached the neighbouring territory of the *Santones* (Charente). All these peoples, except the *Belendi*, who may belong to the oldest population, are found also in Germany as remnants in Roman times—*Bituriges Cubi* on the Main, and *Santones* at Miltenberg worshipping a god *Santius*: Fabricius, *Die Besitznahme Badens durch die Römer*, p. 19. In Germany, too, there were *Nemetes* later, between Main and Neckar, who came with Ariovistus to France, and after his defeat settled on the left bank of the Rhine near Speyer. In spite of their evidently Celtic name, they are usually considered Teutons, as one of the contingents of the *Suebi* of Ariovistus; probably they were an old people conquered and Teutonized by the *Suebi*.

The original home of such peoples in Germany, except the *Turones* of Thuringia, is uncertain. We may suppose that the *Nemetes* and *Santones* were in the Main valley, and the *Bituriges* in Rhenish Hesse, where they participated later in the La Tène culture of the *Fürstengräber*. The *Santones* probably left only insignificant remnants, but of the *Nemetes* and *Bituriges* only a part joined the migration to the west. The movement was initiated by the *Turones* from Thuringia and other peoples from the middle Rhine between Cologne and Coblenz, and by tribes of the *Sefes* group, displaced by a different Teutonic pressure. On the way through France, other tribes such as the *Lingones* and the *Lemovici* joined the wanderers, and left parts of their contingents at various points in France (see p. 38). The *Boii* of the Gironde reached their final home in the company of the Late-Hallstatt peoples. For the position of the *Senones* in the Ardennes and Lorraine, see Linckenfeld, 'Observations sur le siège primitif des *Senones* cisalpins', *Homenagem a Martins Sarmiento*, p. 193.

74. Cemetery at Saint-Roch near Toulouse: Joulin, 'Les Sépultures des âges préhistoriques dans le S.O. de la France', *R.A.* 1912, p. 1. The

name of *Tolosa* also has been supposed to be Iberian: Blanchet, *Les Ibères en Gaule*, 1939, p. 31. If this be right, the *Tolosates* would be the tribe responsible for the Iberian stratum of Saint-Roch cemetery. But others consider *Tolosa* to be Celtic, and attribute it to the *Volcae*. There is the same problem for the Spanish *Tolosa* in the Basque country: is it Celtic or pre-Celtic? Other indications that the Iberian population in western France mixed with the Aquitani are the name of *Burdigala* (Bordeaux) which Blanchet considers Iberian (l.c., p. 31); Iberian names of gods between Hautes-Pyrénées and Haute-Garonne: *Lelhunn*, *Leharenn*, *Ege*, *Ilixo*, *Abelio*, and the goddess *Erditsa*; names of persons in Roman times in French Basque districts: *Arserris*, *Belexco*, *Ittixo*, *Senippo*, *Ulohox*; names of towns: *Asta* and *Carissa* (Basses-Pyrénées and in Baetica), *Calagurris* (Calahorra in Upper Ebro valley), *Iluro* (Oloron), related to *Iluro-Mataró* (Catalonia and Baetica), *Elimberrum-Eliberris* (Auch). Iberian currency from Spain of Roman republican times occur at Barcus (Basses-Pyrénées), silver coins of Balsio, Turiasso, Ontzan, Aregrada, Seqprices, and bronze coins of Emporiae, at Lugan (Tarn); and silver coins with Iberian, of the first century B.C. at Saint-Étienne-des-Landes (Dordogne), Blaye (Gironde), and Limogne (Aveyron). Blanchet also considers Iberian the names of the *Onesii* and of the river *Ona* in the Luchon valley.

75. For the tribes of Aquitania: Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, i, Paris, 1914; Lizop, *Les Comminges et le Cousserans avant la domination Romaine*. Toulouse, Paris, 1931.
76. The indigenous population of the Pyrenees comes down from neolithic times, and is to be distinguished from the Iberian: its historical remnant is the Basque folk: Bosch-Gimpera, *Etnologia de la península ibérica*, pp. 119 ff., 606 ff.; 'Die Vorgeschichte der Iberer', *Mitt. d. Anthropol. Ges. in Wien*, 1925; art. 'Basken' in Ebert, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*. The Basques are certainly not Iberians, as in Humboldt's classical opinion, even if there be strong Iberian influence in the Basque language.
77. Pliny, *N.H.* iv, p. 190, ed. Detlefsen.
78. Bibroci in Britain (Caes. *B.G.* v. 21); Bibraige in Ireland; Bibracte, the town of the Aedui, whom we have considered (pp. 41, 71) as belonging to the Hallstatt stratum of central France.
79. For the geographical position of the Pyrenean *Bebryces* near the Col de la Perche, and the reasons for supposing that Hannibal entered the Roussillon through it, and not through the Col de Perthus, as generally supposed, see Bosch-Gimpera and Aquado in Menéndez Pidal, *Historia de España*, Madrid, 1935, ii, pp. 17-18. The identification of the *Bebryces* of south-eastern France with the

urnfield people of the Narbonne kingdom may be inferred from Dio Cassius, fr. 53: τῶν πάλαι μὲν Βεβρύκων, νῦν δὲ Ναρβωνησίων ἐστὶ τὸ Πυρηναῖον ὄρος.

80. Many archaeologists imagine other Celtic invasions of Britain before the Deverel invasion, among them Hubert, Peake, Crawford, Childe, Mahr, and Hawkes. For Hubert, as for Abercrombie, the First Celtic Wave in Britain was the 'Beaker'-invasion. At the end of the Bronze Age continental types of bronzes in Britain and Ireland may be the symptom of a fresh invasion related to the spread of the 'urnfield'-culture to the lower Rhine; and it is supposed by Mahr, *Pres. Address*, pp. 391 ff., to represent Q-Celts. It seems indisputable that the Deverel-people were new-comers; but it may be doubted whether continental bronzes may not be explained by peaceful intercourse. But since in Ireland there was no other invasion till 200-150 B.C.—the Belgic-Britannic—the probability of a Late Bronze Age invasion cannot be denied: this, however, does not prove that the Deverel-people could not have been Goidelic. The question is, when the change occurred from Goidelic to Britannic; and the possibility of Goidelic traces—*Callaeci* and *Quacerni*—among the Spanish Celts would indicate that there were Goidels still on the middle Rhine at the end of the Hallstatt period, when the Deverel-movements occurred. I cannot believe that the 'Beaker'-invasion was Celtic, since the amalgamation of West European 'bell-beaker' elements with 'corded-pottery' elements of Nordic origin was probably still at a stage too embryonic to be called Celtic. Only with the 'barrow'-culture of the Late Bronze Age can Celts possibly exist as a distinct people.

81. Καμπιανοί, Strabo, vii. 1. 3: cf. pp. 75, 44, 71.

82. The Cempsī: Schulten, 'Germanen und Gallier', *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, viii, 1932, no. 10.

83. About the time of the Middle Hallstatt bi-conical vases.

84. As is shown by a Roman inscription (*C.I.L.* ii. 2573) found in the Lugo district, dedicated to Poemana, their eponym goddess: see also Anderson, *Tacitus, Germania*, Oxford, 1938, pp. 209-10.

85. Tacitus, *Germania*, 43. 6.

86. Geographical names in Germany: Hubert, *Les Celtes*, i, pp. 178 ff. Mountains: *Hercynia silva* (Erzgebirge), *Gabreta silva* (Böhmerwald), *Finne* (south from Harz). Rivers: *Rhenus* (Rhine), *Danuvius* (upper Danube), *Legna* (Lahn), *Lupia* (Lippe), *Amisius* (Ems), *Vimina* (Wümme, trib. of Weser), *Raura* (Ruhr), *Albion* (Elbe), and the German names Leine, Saale, Wupper. The Celtic character of some of these river-names has been disputed; those of the Rhine and the

- Elbe have been considered pre-indo-european; and Pokorný thinks the Danube Illyrian.
87. Broholm, *Studier över den yngre Bronsaldern i Danmark*, Copenhagen, 1933.
88. In the Jastorf culture we may possibly see the fundamental Suebi. Through them La Tène fibulae reached the most northern districts of Germany, and they are frequent in the surviving Nienburg culture of southern Hanover and in the mixed Celtic-Teutonic groups in Thuringia. The spread of La Tène culture to central and north-eastern Germany perhaps began from Hesse in the relatively peaceful La Tène I period, before the movements of the Suebi and the Volcae. For Celtic influence on the most distant Nordic countries may be quoted pottery of urnfield character and Hallstatt age in Denmark at Arre, Uldal, Gunderup (Brønstedt, *Danmarks Oldtid*, iii, Copenhagen, 1940, p. 8, fig. 6) analogous to pottery of the Jastorf culture. Later also in La Tène times, rich imports—fibulae, swords, and Greek bronzes—reached Jutland (Brønstedt, l.c.): compare the Celtic bowl from Gundestrup. Probably the gold horns from Tonder-Gallehus (Jutland) decorated with war-scenes are a very late survival of Celtic influence, to the sixth century A.D.: Phillips, 'Teutonen und Kimbern', *Mannus VI, Ergänzungsband*, Leipzig, 1918, p. 384.
89. Before the urnfield-expansion, Teutonic culture had never spread much farther west than the Elbe. Kossinna's limits for it are certainly exaggerated. The compact groups of finds in Nordic Bronze Age III are not found beyond the Lüneburger Heide and the middle Elbe to the confluence with the Saale. Certainly there are stray finds farther west, but nothing to indicate the spread of a people; and Westphalia had then hardly any population at all. In the Late Bronze Age (*jüngere Bronzezeit IV-V*) contemporary with the urnfield-extension, the limits of the Teutons were not very different. Of the groups established by Sprockhoff, 'Formenkreise der jüngeren Bronzezeit in Norddeutschland', *Schumacher Festschrift*, Mainz, 1930, maps, pp. 123, 135, IX *Lower Weser* and VI *Saale* are not certainly of Nordic culture, but may be considered as related to the Celtic world, VII *Middle Elbe* remains Nordic, even more so than VIII, *Ilmenau and Lower Elbe*. For the evolution of culture in the Later Bronze Age in north-western Germany see Sprockhoff, 'Hügelgräber bei Vorwohlde im Kreise Sulingen, prov. Hannover', *Präh. Z.* xxi, 1930, pp. 193 ff. Sprockhoff admits, too, the possibility of a Celtic stratum of population west of the Elbe. Very probably an ascendancy of the Wesenstedt culture in Nordic Bronze Age IV-V is to be detected in Sprockhoff's VIII, *Ilmenau and Lower Elbe*, which may represent the Teutonic border-district before 800 B.C. At the

end of N.B.A. V, and coinciding with a concentration of find-spots in Holstein, representing the migration from Denmark (Broholm, l.c.) there are 'Cimbrian face-urns'—older than the normal 'face-urns' of the Vistula—in the Dithmarschen and Holstein, and between Elbe and Weser—e.g. Kelsendorf (Kr. Harburg), Basdahl (Kr. Bremervörde), Hainmühlen (Kr. Wesermünde); see Hoffmann, 'Drei Gesichtsturner vom kymrischen Typus aus Nordhannover', *Marburger Studien*, p. 90. These 'face-urns' are independent of the Wesenstedt culture, and point to continuous movement of the population of Jutland at the end of N.B.A. V. This south-westward movement is to be connected with that Teutonic penetration among the Celts of Westphalia, which brought biconical urns into the cemetery of Diersford on the Rhine, and influenced the urnfield-cultures of Westphalia and Lower Hesse. There is also some influence of the 'face-urns' in Lower Hesse (Jörns, 'Die Hallstattzeit in Kurhessen', *Präh. Z.*, 1937-8, p. 15, fig. 2); and these 'face-urns' of Hesse may have been an offshoot of the movement begun in Holstein and perceptible in the 'face-urns' of north Hanover; and with them Cimbric folk probably penetrated among the Westphalian Celts.

To account for the Harpstedt culture on the west bank of the Weser south of Bremen, we may admit that some Teutonic group, established there contributed to the formation of the *Rauhtopf* pottery, under the influence of 'bucket-urns' of the late urnfield culture. It is in this Harpstedt district that we must look for the origin of the *Germani*, *Poemani*, and kindred peoples, who drove the Celts out westward, as well as the later Teutonic tribes—*Cherusci* and *Chauci*—of north-west Germany.

90. Mazaleón, Calaceite (prov. Teruel). Pl. II *j, k, l*; III *g, j*.
91. The most important site is Roquizal del Rullo (Fabara, Pl. III *h, i*). Minor sites in prov. Saragossa are Cascarujo (Alcañiz) and Cabezo Torrente (Chiprana): these all represent the oldest (vii cent.) finds.
92. A vase with modelled ox-head handle. Pl. III *k*.
93. Post-Hallstatt fibula at Els Recons; javelin and *falcata* of the same character in a grave at Les Sitges (both in Torre Endomenech).
94. Post-Hallstatt urn of Arañuel.
95. Caldero de Mojácar, Querénima, Barranco Hondo, Almizaraque, Cabezo Colorado (Vera), Los Caporchanes (Palomares), Las Alparatas (Turre), and Cañada Flores; especially Caporchanes, grave 2.
96. Compare the German vases ornamented with impressions of twisted bronze rings (*Brustwendelringe*), p. 26.
97. Now in the Röm.-germanisches Museum at Mainz, and in the Prähist. Abt. der staatlichen Museen in Berlin.

98. Cf. Las Escodinas Altas, San Cristóbal de Mazaleón (lower Aragon), Pl. III *h, i, j*; Castillo, Castelfrío, de la Sierra (castro).
99. Prov. Lugo: Castro de Couhœira, Croa do Zonani Mondoñedo, citania of San Ciprián de Lás (two). Prov. Coruña: castro on Cape Ortegal, and some others. Prov. Pontevedra: citania of Monte de Santa Tecla (La Guardia). Prov. Asturias: Tineo.
100. Jacob-Friesen, *Einführung in Niedersachsens Urgeschichte*, Hildesheim-Leipzig. 2nd edition, 1934, p. 114, pl. 42. 5 (from Ülzen).
101. Sé (Lisbon) and Santa Olalla (Figuiera).
102. In *Portugal*, 'citania' of Sabroso and of Briteiros; in *Galicia*, the 'citania' of Monte de Santa Tecla near La Guardia (prov. Pontevedra). Other important *castros* are: in *north Portugal*, Ancora (Minho), Terroso and Sendim (Felqueiras); in *Galicia*, A Cidade (San Ciprian de Lás, prov. Lugo), Troña (Puente áreas, prov. Pontevedra).
103. Pottery from 'hill-forts' in other Celtic countries: Leeds ('Exc. at Chun Castle, Penwith, Cornwall', *Archæologia*, lxxvi, 1926-7, pp. 205 ff.) quotes post-Hallstatt fibulae and pottery like the Galician—also with duck-patterns—from 'hill-forts' in Cornwall, and north-western France. A connexion with the 'castros' of Galicia is evident, and may have to do with the tin-trade. But it is doubtful whether it indicates migration from Spain; at most the establishment of trading colonies. See also Hawkes, *Antiquity*, 1931, pp. 60 ff.
104. Hoards and finds of jewellery of the 'castro' culture: Bosch-Gimpera, *La arqueología preromana hispánica*, Barcelona, 1920 (bibliography); *Etnología de la península ibérica*, pp. 473-4; Pericot, *Historia de España*, Barcelona, 1934, i, pp. 356-8; special monographs: Fortes, 'O thesouro de Lebução', *Portugalia*, ii, 1905-8, pp. 1 ff.; Severo, 'Os braceletes d'ouro de Arnozella', l.c. ii, p. 62. In Galicia they are found especially in the north and north-east, at Ribadeo and Ortigueira (near Mondoñedo), and southward as far as Mellid and Santiago in Asturias. Some have been found in 'castros': C. da Recadieira (Mondoñedo), C. de Malzán (Foz, prov. Lugo). In Portugal, at Lebução, Rio Torto, Sabroso, Arnozella, Malhada, Almoester, Serrezas, Afife, C. de Landos, Vinnos (Traz-os-Montes).
105. Salamanca, Ciudad Rodrigo, Béjar, Ledesma, Salvatierra del Tormes.
106. Prov. Entre-Douro-e-Minho:—Torre de Cendufe (Arcos de Valdevez), Crasto de Lasenho (Campos), Santo Ovidio (Fafé), San Jorge de Vizela, Viana, and others in the Museum of Guimaraes. Prov. Traz-os-Montes—Montealegre and Villa Ponca de Aquiar.
107. Aporca de Murça, Castro de Arados (Marco de Canevases), Olival dos Berroes (Moncorvo), Castello de Cabeça Boa (Braganza),

- Pelourinho. Castro de Sabroso (Entre-Douro-e-Minho). Santa Maria de Zezere (Upper Beira).
108. Derivation of Cogotas II forms from Late Hallstatt: Kersten-Neuffer, *Bilder aus rheinischer Vorgeschichte*, pl. 28 (Uebersheim); Rademacher, 'Niederrheinische Hügelgräberkultur', in Ebert, *Reallex. d. Vorgeschichte*, viii, pl. 161 h. (Niederkassel); Jörns, 'Die Hallstattzeit in Kurhessen', *Präh. Z.*, xxviii-ix, 1937-8, pp. 15 ff. The decorations of the Nienburger culture are especially interesting, and offer many parallels to Cogotas in patterns as well as in technique; Tackenberg, *Die Urnenfriedhöfe der früheren Eisenzeit . . . in Mittel- u. West-Hannover*, esp. pl. 23 (patterns).
109. The boar-sculptures were probably a normal feature of the 'castros' of the Vettones' district: list in Pierre Paris, *Le Musée archéologique de Madrid*, Paris, 1936, and in older publications there cited for Portugal; supplemented by Moran, 'Salamanca en la Prehistoria', in *Homenagem a Martins Sarmiento*, p. 257. See also Cartailhac, *Les Âges préhistoriques de l'Espagne et du Portugal*, Paris, 1890, p. 281 (Castro de Sabroso); Mendes Corrêa, in Peres e Cerdeira, *Historia de Portugal*, i; Bosch-Gimpera, *Etnologia*, p. 601, fig. 542 (boars of Murça and Pelourinho). Outside the territory of the Vettones, and northern Portugal, we know only the *berraco* of Miqueldi (Burango, Viscaya) the position of which is isolated and enigmatic.
110. Influence of Celtic grave-stelae: In the Iberian culture of lower Aragon, stelae are decorated with war-scenes and series of lances—Cabrè, 'Esteles ibèriques ornamentades del Baix Aragó', *Ann. Inst. Estudis Catalans*, vi, 1915-20, pp. 629 ff.; Bosch-Gimpera, *Etnologia*, p. 371, fig. 331. The series of lances has been explained as a *simulacrum* of lances planted by the Iberians on their warriors' tombs, the number corresponding to the number of slaughtered enemies, as stated by Aristotle, *Pol.* iv (vii). 2, 1324 b: Schulten, 'Les pointes de lance représentées sur les stèles funéraires ibériques', *Bull. Hispanique*, xiv, 1912, p. 196. The post-Hallstatt stelae of Castile are generally undecorated; Cabrè, l.c., p. 635, n. 11, quotes, as an exception, one stela decorated with a 'pectiform' horseman. On stelae at Clunia (Peñalba de Castro, prov. Burgos) are horsemen with several shields hanging from their lances: Cabrè, l.c., figg. 445-6. These perhaps illustrate the persistence of Celtiberian culture after the fall of Numantia (ii-i centt.): cf. the vase from Osma with decapitated heads: Cabrè, l.c., p. 641, fig. 452. The relation of Celtiberian vase-painting with human figures to that of lower Aragon is evident: Bosch-Gimpera, *Etnologia*, p. 372, fig. 333.
111. At Luzaga, Molino de Benjamín, Arcóbriga, La Requiada de Gormaz, and Osma (Pl. VI c, e-g).

112. Calatañazor, Izana, Langa de Duero, Suellacabras east of Numantia.
113. Known at Clunia, Termantia, Numantia, Uxama, and Arco-briga.
114. Castilejo de Arévalo de la Sierra, Villares of Ventosa de la Sierra, Taniñe, and Contrebia Léucada in Cervera de Rio Alhama (prov. Logroño).
115. C. Ortegá according to Schulten; C. Silleiro according to Berthelot, *Festus Avienus*, Paris, 1933, p. 67.
116. *Forum Gallorum*, *Gallicum* (Gurrea); San Mateo de Gállego; *flumen Gallicum* (Gállego R.); cf. Gallur (prov. Saragossa).
117. Ancient names: *Mirobriga*, *Nertobriga*, *Nemetobriga*, *Segobriga* (Segovia), *Vellia*, *flumen Nervio*, *Cartama Uxama*, *Clunia*; modern: Cornago, Sarnago, Arévalo, Gallur, Bélgida.
118. Cult names: *Epona*, *Endovellicus*, *Matres Gallaicae*, *Lugones*.
119. Personal names: *Rectugenos*, *Ambon*, *Leucon*, *Caros*, *Litennon*, *Bolgios*, *Viriathus*.
120. Place-names from landmarks: *Piedrahita*, *Piedrafita*, *Perafita*, *Treviño* (*Trifinium*), *Itero*, *Ituero*, *Fitero*.
121. Compare the Spanish *Suessiones*, *Ambiani*, *Nervii*, *Autrigones*, and *Veliocasses*.
122. Celtic invasions of Spain: Hubert, *Les Celtes*, ii, p. 89; Pokorny, *Zur Urgeschichte der Illyrier*, p. 167. For the opposite theory, that no Celts reached Spain but those of the urnfield invasion, see Almagro, 'El problema de la invasión céltica en España según los últimos descubrimientos', *Investigación y Progreso*, 1935, p. 180, who places this invasion of Spain in the eighth and seventh centuries.
123. La Tène finds on Iberian sites: Bosch-Gimpera, *Etnologia* (bibliography); 'Vorgeschichte der iberischen Halbinsel' in Ebert's *Lexikon*: esp. La Tène helmet from Villaricos, Siret, 'Villaricos y Herrerias', *Mem. R. Acad. de la Historia*, 1908, pl. vi: another from Castellon; La Tène fibulae from Villaricos, Galera, and elsewhere; La Tène II shield in sculpture at Osuna. Horace Sandars imagined an invasion of Celts in this period to explain the La Tène influence at Cabrera de Mataró and elsewhere: 'The Weapons of the Iberians', *Archaeologia*, lxiv, 1912-13, pp. 208, 262 ff. For Cabrera see also Bosch-Gimpera, *Etnologia* (index), and 'La collezione Rubio de la Serna al Museo de Barcelona', *Ann. Inst. Est. Catalans*, vii, 1921-6, p. 62 (crónica).
124. Eburones, Condrusi, Caerosi, Poemani, Sequi.
125. *C.I.L.* ii. 2349: *Sacili Martialis* is at Alcorruccén near Pedro Abada; *Epora* at Montoro; *Solin* at Pedroche: *Sacili* and *Epora* were towns of the Turduli, though *Epora* perhaps bears a Celtic name.

126. Belmez, Peñarroya, Pozoblanco west of *Trifinium* and *Sisupo* (Almadén), and Puertollano between *Mirobriga* and *Oretum Germanorum*.
127. The Lusitanians were certainly not Celts, though influenced by them. They belonged to an indigenous pre-Celtic stratum, related to that of *Celtiberia Citerior*, where are the place-names of Luzaga and Luzón (Guadalajara) and the Celticized *Lusones* of the lower Jalón valley. In Portugal, too, they are pre-Celtic, in *Periplus*, vv. 195-8, the peoples northwards from Cape Cempsicum (Espichel) are thus described:

*Cempsi atque Sefes arduos collis habent
Ophiussae in agro; propter hos pernix lucis
Draganumque proles sub nivoso maxima
septentrione conlocaverant larem.*

The Tagus estuary and the Lisbon district end the coastland of the *Cempsi*: the *Sefes* begin at Cap Roca (*Ophiussa*) and extend north: adjacent to them are the *pernix lucis* and the *Dragani*. The sense is obscured by *lucis*, an evident mistake in the original MS., generally corrected to *Ligus*, which is unsatisfactory. In *Etnologia*, p. 600, I have accepted the correction *Lusis* of Mendes Corrêa and Leite de Vasconcellos, placing the early Lusitanians at the Sierra de *Estrella*. The *Dragani* may be another indigenous people of north Portugal later absorbed by the Celts, and perhaps related to the Astures. Berthelot (*Festus Avienus*, Paris, 1933, p. 70) accepts *Lusis* and the identification with Lusitanians. In Avienus' text *s* is normally mistaken for *c*: *Cordones*, *Aucocoretes*, *Cordus* for *Sordones*, *Ausoceretes*, *Sordus*.

Berthelot (l.c., pp. 68-9) identifies the *Dragani* with the *Sefes*, on the ground that *Sefes* represents *Sepes* (where the Greek text would have written σῆπες 'serpents') and that *Draganum* represents *draconum* 'serpents' in late Latin. Thus the *Periplus* would describe the Lusitanians as encircled by the 'serpent'-peoples in the coastal hills and farther north, and the *Dragani* would disappear.

128. Their cemetery at Echauri lies west of Pamplona.
129. It may be conjectured that the Berones reached their historical homes from the Pamplona district by way of Pamplona-Estella-Logroño. For the Ebro-Celtiberi, who are detached from the other Celtiberi and bear no tribal name, may have passed independently to their cities between Ebro and Moncayo, from Pamplona by Tafallo-Olite-the Ebro-crossing at Alfaro-the road-junction of Tudela-Turiasso (Tarazona)-Balsio (Cortes)-Bursada (Borja); they may, however, have been an advanced post of the Arevaci when they reached the Soria plain by a road north of the Moncayo (Soria-

Agreda-Tarazona) or even of the Celtic element in the *Lusones* in the lower Jalón valley, spreading from the district of Nertobriga (Calatorao) to Borja, Cortes, and Tarazona. Perhaps the most plausible account of them is as an outpost of the Arevaci east of the Moncayo.

The fundamental centres of expansion for the Belgic tribes would then be (1) Pamplona with both roads to Vitoria and Miranda, (2) Estella and Logroño, (3) Miranda as a secondary centre, with the Pancorbo pass into central Spain, and other routes into the Basque highland and to the Cantabrian hills.

130. Among the Lusones the indigenous stratum may be considered Iberian, as the Lusitanians are generally supposed to be Iberian. But as there is no evidence for Iberians in Portugal, Mendes Corrêa doubts this: 'La Lusitania pre-romana' (in Peres and Cerdeira, *Historia de Portugal*, 1928), p. 182; *Os povos primitivos da Lusitania*, Porto, 1924. Both the Lusitanians and the *Lusones* of Celtiberia might represent an older stratum in Portugal and central Spain, belonging to the aeneolithic cave-culture, which is proved archaeologically to have been penetrated by Iberian elements in eastern Castille: Bosch-Gimpera, *Etnologia*, pp. 491 ff.

131. The advance of the Cempsí and Germani into southern Estremadura, and their penetration of the mining districts of the Sierra Morena is probably connected with the exploitation of the mines. The colonization of the tin-districts of southern Galicia (prov. Pontevedra and Orense), of northern Portugal (Traz-os-Montes), and of the Spanish province of Zamora was a principal cause of the great prosperity of the 'castro' culture in those districts. Strabo, iii. 2. 9, speaks of the knowledge and exploitation of the surface tin; and on both banks of the Douro, from Barca d'Alva to the junction with the Esla, and in the Aliste valley (prov. Zamora), 'castros' are extraordinarily numerous, representing a much more dense population than now: Leeds, 'Excavations at Chun Castle', *Archaeologia*, lxxvi, 1926-7, pp. 205 ff.; Gomez Moreno, *Bol. R. Soc. Geogr. de Madrid*, xlii, 1904, p. 255. The exploitation of the tin may have followed the Tartessian voyages to the islands off Brittany mentioned in the *Periplus*, and led to direct relations with north-western France and Cornwall, as above. Perhaps this trade explains also La Tène influence in the 'castro' culture of Galicia and northern Portugal; and even in central Spain independently of the other trade between the Iberians of eastern Spain and the Greeks and the south-eastern coast of France.

132. Celtic survivals in Romanized art, e.g. decapitated heads on Roman funerary monuments at Avila, Cabré, *Estelas ibéricas*, p. 639, figs. 448-9; *C.I.L.* ii. 679; and the *stelae* with warriors and other

may represent the Teutonic border-district before 800 B.C. At the representations at Lara de los Infantes (prov. Burgos); Mérida, *Arqueología española*, Barcelona, 1929, p. 193, fig. 93; and in Mendes Pidal, *Historia de España*, Madrid, 1935, p. 489, fig. 272: cf. the so-called 'Cantabrian' *stelae* from Monte Cildad in the museum at Comillas (prov. Santander), another Celtic survival; Fita, *Bol. R. Acad. Historia*, xx, 1892, p. 537. For other sites of similar *stelae* see Cabré, *Estelas ibéricas*, p. 639, n. 1.

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